

The Guardian

EUROPE

Plus six pages of weekend sport



Max Clifford, page 18



Saturday, page 15



Ros Coward on Charles at 50

Birthday poem for the Prince of Wales

The recent death of the Poet Laureate meant that today's royal milestone would not have been marked in verse. So the Guardian commissioned a well known poet to play laureate for the day.

A Brief Résumé at Fifty

By U A Fanthorpe

Now, let's have a brief résumé.
Ah, that's better.
(The Goons)

November. The clocks go back and the lights come on.
In a fall of paper flowers we remember the dead.

Born after Remembrance, in start-again November,
When brooks run high, and Wales is clear over Severn,
When raindrops juggle on fences in early mornings,
And wild swans are drumming their way back
to Slimbridge,

Born in the pinched post-war, when, cold
and discouraged,
We had too much to remember, too many
unaccounted deaths,
You came, a wordless message, bringing the
future with you,
into a past-haunted world.

Babies are famous for doing this. But royal babies
Trail our history along with theirs.
At your grandfather's great-grandmother's jubilee,
my grandfather
Held up my baby father to see. His first memory

Of anything, Sir, you are past and future, Cerdic
of Wessex
And CD Rom. It all comes together in you,

The focus, the pioneer, the first to be born
With a zoom lens in your face. For you the usual
Confusions of childhood were public; for you
Adolescent prattles were headlines; for you marriage

A monstrously slowmotion fuss, viewed raptly worldwide,
Which every citizen could recite by heart, errata included.
And then the fairytale death
Of the sad and lovely, and the tongue-tied people,
The angry eloquence of flowers all over the island,
The dogged unweeping slow march behind the coffin.

These things happen to us all, or most of them do,
Only no one bothers to look. (Zoom, says the lens.)
Now, for your fiftieth birthday, we wish you
A happier landfall.

A Now when the worst things are over, or at least
One knows how to handle them. Not the start of life,
But the start of freedom, of looking
(As Shakespeare grandly says) with such large discourse,
Looking before and after.

When you came we were looking backwards. Now
There's the future to see to.
Where you're standing means a lot of going:
Kalahari, Canada, the Caribbean, meeting
Generals, philosophers, artists, people,
Always people, in the rainy streets,
With their handshakes, their flags, their flowers.

And the quiet places, where protocol is different,
Where a kill is possible and children are safer;
The modest undistinguished bit of Gloucestershire,
Old Shallow's county; all of it,
This fragile special island, mauled by the sea,
Frittered away by speculators, eaten
By money-grubbers. Yours, Sir, by inheritance
To care for.

With that well-known polite
Diffidence to all corners.

It's your birthday.
May the enterprises thrive; may buildings
Be humane and gracious; may broadcasters and writers
Deal fairly with English; may the unemployed
Get work worth doing; may the Duchy
And all its doings flourish; may
Your Gloucestershire garden grow.

Lying on paths and grass the dead flat leaves;
Jutting already on branches, next year's buds.

The propaganda war

Ian Black
Diplomatic Editor

TONY Blair's government is waging a co-ordinated propaganda campaign as the United States and Britain move to the brink of war with Iraq over United Nations weapons inspections. A Whitehall-wide "Iraq Media Group" has been established to handle the British media. Officials say Washington and London are working closely, pooling intelligence to blacken Baghdad and prepare public opinion in both countries for what could be weeks of heavy air attacks against the core of Saddam Hussein's regime.

The Iraq Media Group involves officials from the Foreign Office, the Ministry of Defence and Downing Street. It has met three times in the past week, including one session with Mr Blair's chief spokesman, Alastair Campbell. One of its tasks is to keep everyone on message that the coming war is necessary whatever Labour MPs Tam Dalyell and Tony Benn say.

President Saddam's human rights abuses and an explanation of why his regime, not UN sanctions, is killing Iraqi children are key themes. So are dire predictions of how Baghdad, still in possession of Scud missiles, could be just weeks away from making offensive biological weapons.

Every MP got a three-page version of this on Thursday, a

more sober presentation than the slick briefing given to lobby correspondents in February which had even the experts wincing with its lurid reports of random butchery, depravity and mafia-type corruption.

Iraq is refusing to co-operate with UN inspection teams which have been seeking out biological weapons and technology for mass destruction under the UN resolutions adopted after the Gulf war. Unconvinced inspection teams were this week withdrawn from the country.

As the transatlantic drumbeat of threats continued yesterday, ministers waged a concerted campaign across the media. Tony Blair demanded in a Mirror column that the Iraqi dictator "end

his defiance... or else". In a place in the New York Times, the Prime Minister began on a Churchillian note: "Once again America and Britain stand shoulder to shoulder against Iraq."

George Robertson, the Defence Secretary, spoke on BBC Radio's Today programme while Robin Cook, who will make a crisis trip to the Gulf on Monday, gave Evening Standard readers four grave columns.

Mr Cook reminded Standard readers that Iraq was importing glass ashtrays as "humanitarian supplies". Mr Blair went for "ever more luxurious palaces" — an example often used by US leaders. Iraqi exiles were busy trying to shape events through the media. On Monday the

usually well-informed Iraqi Communist Party published the names of 122 people executed in Abu Ghraib prison, Baghdad, on October 1.

"We are trying to show the views of the masses of the Iraqi people, that the issue here is not only the biological and chemical weapons, but human rights, democracy and the future of Iraq," a party activist said.

Iraqis get little hard information from their government. Possession of a satellite dish is punishable by a fine and six months in prison — though many rely on the BBC Arabic service, the Voice of America and opposition radio stations in Jordan and Iran.

But Baghdad itself was striving to shape Western opinion, and with journalists

streaming to a capital under siege, Tareq Aziz, the silver-haired, cigar-chomping, deputy prime minister, was centre stage.

"Aziz's statement on CNN was very effective in the Arab street," an Iraqi commented approvingly last night. "He appeals to emotions. He says the Americans are starving us and killing us and denying us medicine... and that it's better to die under American bombs than to surrender. He is catering to the masses."

President Saddam is said to understand well the power of the media, and he has dozens of alternative sites ready if his broadcasting facilities are hit, as expected, in the first wave of allied strikes.

Martin Woolcott, page 8



William Hague and his Auntie Marjorie Longdin at the Tory leader's wedding reception earlier this year

Hague's aunt, at least, is a winner

"I DON'T know what to buy William yet — I can't buy him the PM's job, can I?" said William Hague's Auntie Marjorie yesterday, celebrating a National Lottery win of £256,848. "But it's lovely to know my family's going to be safe for life, especially when we are going into a recession," added the Doncaster pensioner, whose windfall share of Wednesday's £3.4 million jackpot caused pangs of jealousy on both sides of the House of Commons. "I just wish it was my auntie," said the Prime Minister through politely gritted teeth. "Lucky her. Well done for her."

Mr Hague, an irregular ticket-buyer who has only won the odd tenner, ordered his press officer to buy a weekly ticket in future. "It's very nice for her — she has earned a bit of luck," said the opposition leader, whose wife Fiona last year described Auntie Marjorie's set of pans as "our only practical wedding present". Mr Hague continued: "She's a very sensible lady. You will have to ask her, but you can be sure she will spend it very wisely."

Marjorie Longdin, aged 73 and a widowed grandmother with a 300-acre farm at Tickhill, near Doncaster, showed a mixture of Yorkshire nous and mysticism when she claimed her cheque — after phoning her sister Stella, Mr Hague's mother, "to check I don't put a foot wrong where William's concerned". The implications hung in the air as everyone totted up her immediate shopping list — chiropody, new church gates and a pedigree breeding ram for her farm — and reckoned at least £250,000 was going spare. "She could buy and sell the Conservative Party with that money," said Tory MP Teresa Gorman cheekily. "But she'd better get it into a dollar account or cart it over to Switzerland pretty smartly before the euro hits us."

Aunt Marjorie, whose regular numbers — 5, 11, 19, 25, 28 and 49 — include her date of birth, wedding day and house number, was a perfect winner for the lottery's somewhat battered organisers Camelot. A former nurse known to wounded D-Day veterans at Leeds General Infirmary as "the queen of the bedpan", she is a pillar of the church in Tickhill and familiar to locals. "I came out about the win because they all know me and it couldn't have stayed a secret," she said. Her big indulgence will be her planned Texel ram ("They fetch £20,000 even in present conditions"), a mantle every week and chiropody once a fortnight.

Channel fares to soar

Lisa Buckingham
City Editor

THE cost of crossing the Channel will soar by nearly a third next summer as operators seek to replace the income they will lose when duty-free shopping ends in June.

Eurotunnel, the Channel tunnel rail operator, yesterday raised its peak return fare by 27 per cent to £279.

The rises are expected to spread to airlines. A spokesman for P&O Stena, the ferry company, said fare increases would be announced in the next two or three weeks. He declined to indicate how large they would be but the ferries are unlikely to lag far behind Eurotunnel.

P&O Stena has already warned exporters that freight

charges will rise by about 15 per cent to cover some of the revenue which will be lost when duty-free sales are abolished. It is estimated that on-board sales account for about half the earnings of the ferries and analysts reckon fares would have to rise by even more to compensate.

The significance for profits is even greater because the gross margin on duty free is very high," said an analyst at Charterhouse Tilney.

He predicted that total retail profits — which also include earnings from duty-paid items such as perfume and jewellery — will crash by 80 per cent.

"Something has to replace that revenue," P&O said. "The Government can't simply stop duty-free sales and turn to page 2, column 6



Unravel the mysteries of China, from the Great Wall to Tiananmen Square, on a 435 km cycle ride for Mencap. Embark on a nine day pilgrimage of discovery, while raising valuable funds for people with a learning disability, their families and carers.

- Flights, bikes, food and accommodation all included
- Superb sightseeing opportunities
- Limited places available

Call 0645 777 779* for details NOW or fax your details on 0171 696 5540

or write to: The China Bike Ride, Mencap, FREEPOST, EC1B 1AA

*local rate charges



making the most of life

Registered Charity No. 222377 MENTCAP ASSOCIATION

Albania D 6.50	Bulgaria £ 6.50	Kuwait KD 0.50	Qatar QR 9.50
Albania US\$ 2	Bulgaria £ 3.30	Latvia US\$ 2	Romania LEI 32,500
Andorra FF 10	Finland FM 15	Lebanon LL 3000	Russia US\$ 2.75
Austria AS 30	France FF 12	Luxembourg LF 65	Saudi Arabia A 10
Bahamas BD 0.85	Germany DM 3.80	Madagascar M 310	Slovenia SIT 230
Belgium BF 70	Greece D 600	Malta ML 0.50	Spain P 275
Bulgaria LV 580	Hong Kong HK\$ 25	Morocco D 25	Sweden SK 17
Canada C\$ 3.95	Hungary F 300	Netherlands G 4.25	Switzerland SF 3.50
Croatia KN 15.00	Iceland IK 135	Norway NK 16	Thailand B 8
Cyprus C£ 1.00	Israel NS 13.00	Oman OR 100	Turkey TL 170,000
Czech Rep. KC\$ 65	Italy L 3,500	Pakistan P 80	Ukraine US\$ 3.50
Denmark DK 17	Jordan JD 1.25	Poland Z 2.80	USA US\$ 3.00
Dubai D 8.50	Kenya KSH 150	Portugal E 280	

UK news

The Government last night refused to blink in its showdown with the House of Lords over a voting system for European ballots. Page 4

International

The EU auditors will refuse to approve its accounts next week because irregularities include a missing £3 billion. Page 7

Our e-mail address for editorial comments is europa@guardian.co.uk



9 770261 307866

Handwritten note: 10/11/98

Eight die in Jakarta anarchy

John Gittingby in Jakarta

THE Indonesian capital, Jakarta, collapsed into anarchy for several hours yesterday as soldiers killed at least seven students and one reporter while attempting to prevent tens of thousands of protesters from reaching parliament.

On the final day of a special parliamentary session called to repeal decades of authoritarian legislation, security forces opened fire, without warning, time and again on unarmed students whose ranks had been swelled by thousands of locals.

Four people paid by the government to demonstrate in favour of the parliamentary session were lynched by angry residents.

Dozens of people were injured across the city, many critically, as police used rubber bullets, water cannon and tear-gas on almost all approach roads to the city-centre parliament complex.

The third — and worst — consecutive day of violence ended with several thousand students continuing their stand-off with the security forces outside Atma Jaya University.

"We still want to go to the assembly," Atma, a student said. "And we have no intention of leaving here until the security forces let us."

Fires were lit and, to keep people awake, a dozen protesters formed an impromptu orchestra playing whatever wreckage they could find.

The students opposed the assembly because they see its members, appointed by former dictator General Suharto, as interested only in defending the status quo and not in introducing wholesale reform. They want reform introduced more quickly, the military stripped of its powerful political role and the prosecution of Gen Suharto, his family and cronies.

Earlier, after Friday prayers had finished, several thousand students poured out of Atma Jaya, about half a mile from the parliament, but were immediately blocked by hundreds of soldiers and riot police.

Within minutes, the students had been joined in a good-natured anti-government demonstration by thousands of passers-by and locals who had not gone to work because of fears of unrest. Almost as quickly, armoured personnel carriers and water cannon trucks drew up behind the army lines.

One student and a police officer were killed on Thursday and another confrontation yesterday was inevitable.

It was sparked by the arrival of three light tanks at the back of the demonstration. Protesters blocked their path and started throwing stones at the vehicles. The soldiers opened fire with blank ammunition to defend



An Indonesian student wounded by security forces yesterday is carried away by protesters

PHOTOGRAPH: KEMAL JUFFA

themselves and then beat a hasty retreat.

The people at the head of the demonstration became more aggressive and pushed against the security forces' front line. The soldiers responded without warning by firing bullets into the air, and water cannon and tear-gas at the demonstrators.

Hundreds of students fled into the Atma Jaya campus, while people on the other side of the road ran for cover in the nearest office towers.

Those in the centre beat a retreat. The soldiers then levelled their rifles and fired bullets and tear-gas into the campus continuously for more than five minutes.

Two hours after the first shots were fired the protesters' numbers had swollen to well over 20,000.

Raina Sarumpaet, a prominent government critic who had been in the Atma Jaya

campus, took advantage of the temporary peace to leave the area.

On her way out she said: "This is crazy. The students had done nothing and the soldiers did not even give them a warning before opening fire. This is a bastard government."

Sri Bintang Pamungkas, an opposition politician who was imprisoned for defaming Gen Suharto, went into the campus with his wife and daughter during a lull to assess the situation.

Later his daughter Lisa told the Guardian: "They are using tear-gas against us and the soldiers are using live ammunition from the rooftops. I cannot understand why they are doing it as the students are doing nothing. Many are injured."

Last night a military spokesman issued a strongly worded denial that any live ammunition had been used.

Meanwhile, seemingly oblivious to the chaos outside, legislators in the early peaceful parliament chamber approved 12 decrees that repealed Gen Suharto's repressive legislation, set an election for next May and ordered an investigation into the corruption, collusion and nepotism of the Suharto era.

President B. J. Habibie, in a brief closing address, said he accepted the parliament's decisions and would implement them "with all my capability and with honesty and fairness."

He expressed his condolences to the families of the dead and injured but, in his only other reference to the violence, said: "I urge the people of Indonesia to give their support for the success of the reform agenda constitutionally."

John Gittingby, page 6

Man, 21, charged with club woman's murder

Geoffrey Gibbs

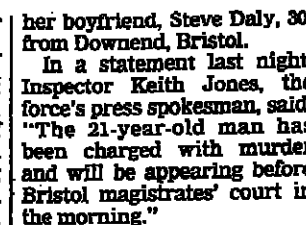
POLICE last night charged a 21-year-old man with the murder of Jenny King, the young Bristol woman who went missing two weeks ago after leaving a nightclub where she had spent an evening out with friends.

Paul Hunt, of Warmley, Bristol, is due to appear before Bristol magistrates today.

He was arrested on Wednesday morning in the Warmley area of Bristol.

This is close to where Ms King, 22, a receptionist with a soft drinks firm, lived with her parents, brother and younger sister.

It is understood that news of the arrest had been given to Ms King's family, and to her boyfriend, Steve Daly, 30, from Downend, Bristol.



Jenny King... left nightclub

In a statement last night, Inspector Keith Jones, the force's press spokesman, said: "The 21-year-old man has been charged with murder and will be appearing before Bristol magistrates' court in the morning."

The victim was last seen alive in the early hours of October 31, when video surveillance cameras captured her leaving Chasers nightclub in Kingswood on the outskirts of Bristol.

Her battered, partially clothed body was discovered three days later in a children's "den" only a few hundred yards from her home in nearby Warmley during an intensive police hunt of the area.

A post-mortem showed she

had been strangled. More than 100 officers took part in the investigation.

Officers working on the case have been inundated with information from members of the public following a televised reconstruction of Ms King's last known movements and a plea for help from her parents.

Channel fares to soar

continued from page 1

expect us to operate at a loss," the company said.

For the debt-laden Eurotunnel, the end of duty-free returns comes just as the rail operator has started to report operating profits. It needs to ensure that earnings remain strong to satisfy the banks financing its £9 billion loans.

The company, which saw passenger traffic increase by 83 per cent in the first half of the year, is attempting to keep its share of the cross-Channel market by offering cheaper Apex fares. These will cost £159 return before the end of June and £169 after that.

One industry executive said that even with such large increases, cross-Channel fares still compared well with the levels of five or six years ago.

car would cost passengers costs £149 on the ferry today, but cost £230 before the opening of Eurotunnel.

The judgment the ferry companies and Eurotunnel have to make is how much they can increase fares without losing customers, particularly in the off-peak season, where they have developed a strong business in cross-Channel shopping.

Although the transport operators believe demand will decline once duty-free sales are ended, they now consider that people going shopping in Calais will be a key part of the future market.

"We are determined not to turn off business," said one executive.

"But the shopping trade is a big market and that will continue long after duty-free has ended."

He said a foot passenger could travel to Calais on the ferry for £5, so even if ticket prices were to rise by a fifth, the fare would be £6 — roughly the saving available from buy-

ing two bottles of wine in France rather than Britain.

P&O has announced plans to open its new Calais terminal to encourage off-peak business and Eurotunnel wants to open large shopping terminals.

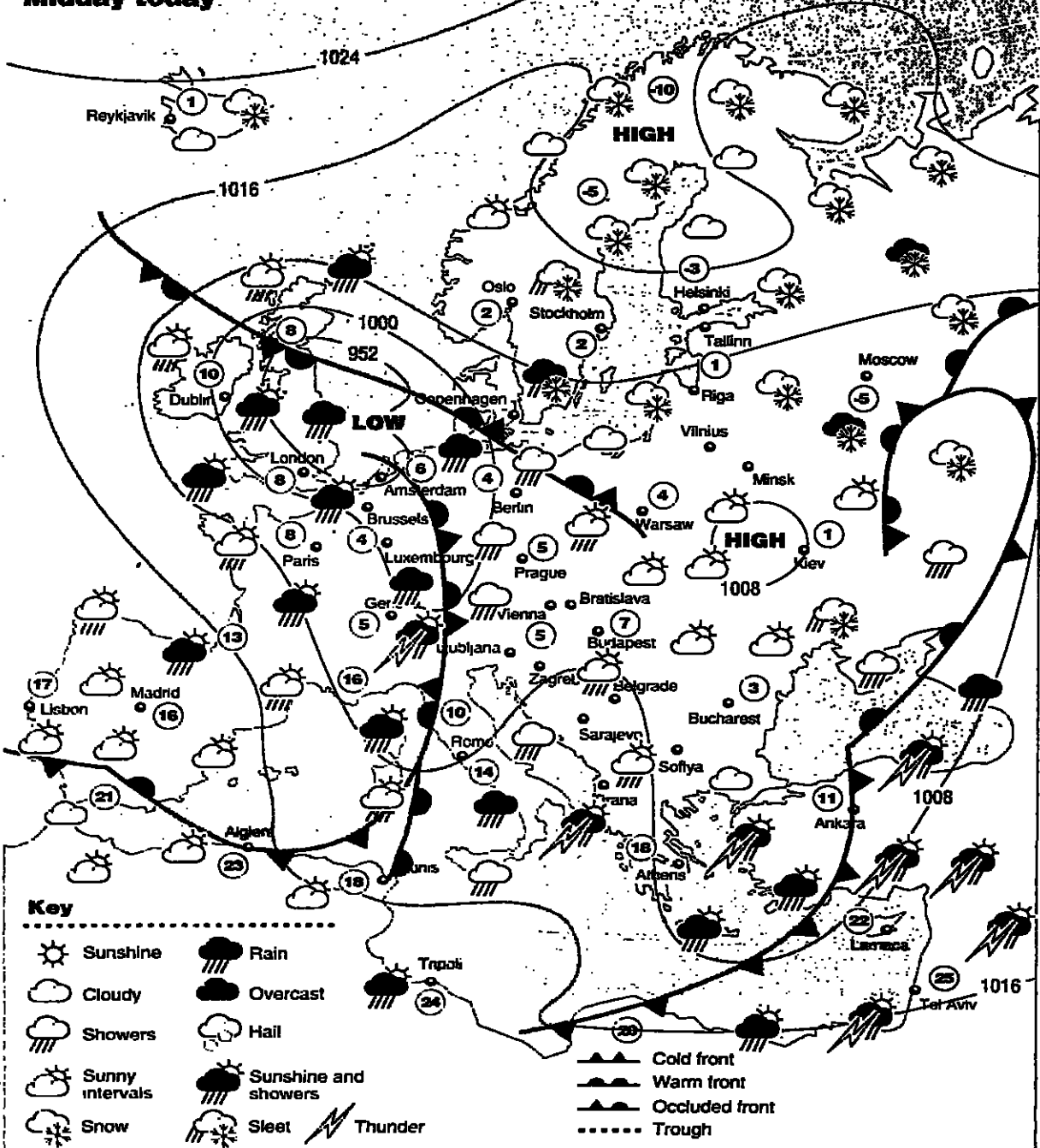
Holidaymakers and shoppers have benefited from years of fierce competition on the cross-Channel route, with surplus capacity on the Channel compounded by the opening of Eurotunnel helping to keep a lid on fares.

But the merger of P&O with its rival, Stena, has seen a rationalisation of the ferries. And a financially stronger Eurotunnel has dared to charge more economic fares. Together these two operators carry four out of every five travellers.

Pressure from the companies' shareholders makes it more likely they will enforce the rises they are announcing.

The weather in Europe

Midday today



Forecast for the cities

City	High	Low	Weather
London	12	6	F
Birmingham	11	5	F
Manchester	10	4	F
Cardiff	11	5	F
Belfast	10	4	F
Edinburgh	10	4	F
Glasgow	10	4	F
Liverpool	11	5	F
Newcastle	11	5	F
Nottingham	11	5	F
Sheffield	11	5	F
Southampton	11	5	F
Stoke	11	5	F
Wolverhampton	11	5	F
York	11	5	F

Around the world

City	High	Low	Weather
Amsterdam	12	6	F
Brussels	11	5	F
Cologne	11	5	F
Düsseldorf	11	5	F
Frankfurt	11	5	F
Hamburg	11	5	F
Munich	11	5	F
Paris	11	5	F
Rome	11	5	F
Vienna	11	5	F
Zurich	11	5	F

European weather outlook

Scandinavia: Cold with temperatures staying below freezing all day in most areas. There will be heavy showers of snow but the southern parts of Sweden and Norway will be milder with sleet or rain. Highs ranging widely between 6C in Copenhagen and minus 10C in northern Sweden.

Low Countries, Germany, Austria, Switzerland: Dull and wet at first with some rather heavy rain. That will ease and become more showery with sunny breaks coming through. However, some of the showers might still be brief heavy downpours, and it will feel chilly. Top temperature temp 4-6C (39-43F).

France: Heavy rain will clear away eastwards but it will stay unsettled. There will be showers scattered across most of the country, some of them heavy with thunder possible in the east. Showers in the north-west will, however, be lighter. Highs from 10C in the Riviera to 6C in Picardy.

Spain and Portugal: A few showers in the north, some of them towards the Pyrenees, but most places will stay dry. There will be spells of sunshine, the best of them on the Costa. Highs ranging from 12C in Asturias to 24C on the Costa del Sol.

Italy: There will be a few showers scattered around, with thicker cloud bringing steeper rain later as the wind freshens. Temperatures reaching 19C at best on Sicily but only 10C in the Po Valley.

Greece: Dry for a while in most areas with some sunshine but there will be a few heavy showers breaking out, mostly in the north, some thunder is possible. Highs between 16 and 19C.

Television and radio — Saturday

BBC 1

8.00am The Morning News, 8.30 News and Weather, 9.00 The Ten Minute News, 9.30am The Ten Minute News, 10.00am The Ten Minute News, 10.30am The Ten Minute News, 11.00am The Ten Minute News, 11.30am The Ten Minute News, 12.00pm The Ten Minute News, 12.30pm The Ten Minute News, 1.00pm The Ten Minute News, 1.30pm The Ten Minute News, 2.00pm The Ten Minute News, 2.30pm The Ten Minute News, 3.00pm The Ten Minute News, 3.30pm The Ten Minute News, 4.00pm The Ten Minute News, 4.30pm The Ten Minute News, 5.00pm The Ten Minute News, 5.30pm The Ten Minute News, 6.00pm The Ten Minute News, 6.30pm The Ten Minute News, 7.00pm The Ten Minute News, 7.30pm The Ten Minute News, 8.00pm The Ten Minute News, 8.30pm The Ten Minute News, 9.00pm The Ten Minute News, 9.30pm The Ten Minute News, 10.00pm The Ten Minute News, 10.30pm The Ten Minute News, 11.00pm The Ten Minute News, 11.30pm The Ten Minute News, 12.00am The Ten Minute News, 12.30am The Ten Minute News, 1.00am The Ten Minute News, 1.30am The Ten Minute News, 2.00am The Ten Minute News, 2.30am The Ten Minute News, 3.00am The Ten Minute News, 3.30am The Ten Minute News, 4.00am The Ten Minute News, 4.30am The Ten Minute News, 5.00am The Ten Minute News, 5.30am The Ten Minute News, 6.00am The Ten Minute News, 6.30am The Ten Minute News, 7.00am The Ten Minute News, 7.30am The Ten Minute News, 8.00am The Ten Minute News, 8.30am The Ten Minute News, 9.00am The Ten Minute News, 9.30am The Ten Minute News, 10.00am The Ten Minute News, 10.30am The Ten Minute News, 11.00am The Ten Minute News, 11.30am The Ten Minute News, 12.00am The Ten Minute News, 12.30am The Ten Minute News, 1.00am The Ten Minute News, 1.30am The Ten Minute News, 2.00am The Ten Minute News, 2.30am The Ten Minute News, 3.00am The Ten Minute News, 3.30am The Ten Minute News, 4.00am The Ten Minute News, 4.30am The Ten Minute News, 5.00am The Ten Minute News, 5.30am The Ten Minute News, 6.00am The Ten Minute News, 6.30am The Ten Minute News, 7.00am The Ten Minute News, 7.30am The Ten Minute News, 8.00am The Ten Minute News, 8.30am The Ten Minute News, 9.00am The Ten Minute News, 9.30am The Ten Minute News, 10.00am The Ten Minute News, 10.30am The Ten Minute News, 11.00am The Ten Minute News, 11.30am The Ten Minute News, 12.00am The Ten Minute News, 12.30am The Ten Minute News, 1.00am The Ten Minute News, 1.30am The Ten Minute News, 2.00am The Ten Minute News, 2.30am The Ten Minute News, 3.00am The Ten Minute News, 3.30am The Ten Minute News, 4.00am The Ten Minute News, 4.30am The Ten Minute News, 5.00am The Ten Minute News, 5.30am The Ten Minute News, 6.00am The Ten Minute News, 6.30am The Ten Minute News, 7.00am The Ten Minute News, 7.30am The Ten Minute News, 8.00am The Ten Minute News, 8.30am The Ten Minute News, 9.00am The Ten Minute News, 9.30am The Ten Minute News, 10.00am The Ten Minute News, 10.30am The Ten Minute News, 11.00am The Ten Minute News, 11.30am The Ten Minute News, 12.00am The Ten Minute News, 12.30am The Ten Minute News, 1.00am The Ten Minute News, 1.30am The Ten Minute News, 2.00am The Ten Minute News, 2.30am The Ten Minute News, 3.00am The Ten Minute News, 3.30am The Ten Minute News, 4.00am The Ten Minute News, 4.30am The Ten Minute News, 5.00am The Ten Minute News, 5.30am The Ten Minute News, 6.00am The Ten Minute News, 6.30am The Ten Minute News, 7.00am The Ten Minute News, 7.30am The Ten Minute News, 8.00am The Ten Minute News, 8.30am The Ten Minute News, 9.00am The Ten Minute News, 9.30am The Ten Minute News, 10.00am The Ten Minute News, 10.30am The Ten Minute News, 11.00am The Ten Minute News, 11.30am The Ten Minute News, 12.00am The Ten Minute News, 12.30am The Ten Minute News, 1.00am The Ten Minute News, 1.30am The Ten Minute News, 2.00am The Ten Minute News, 2.30am The Ten Minute News, 3.00am The Ten Minute News, 3.30am The Ten Minute News, 4.00am The Ten Minute News, 4.30am The Ten Minute News, 5.00am The Ten Minute News, 5.30am The Ten Minute News, 6.00am The Ten Minute News, 6.30am The Ten Minute News, 7.00am The Ten Minute News, 7.30am The Ten Minute News, 8.00am The Ten Minute News, 8.30am The Ten Minute News, 9.00am The Ten Minute News, 9.30am The Ten Minute News, 10.00am The Ten Minute News, 10.30am The Ten Minute News, 11.00am The Ten Minute News, 11.30am The Ten Minute News, 12.00am The Ten Minute News, 12.30am The Ten Minute News, 1.00am The Ten Minute News, 1.30am The Ten Minute News, 2.00am The Ten Minute News, 2.30am The Ten Minute News, 3.00am The Ten Minute News, 3.30am The Ten Minute News, 4.00am The Ten Minute News, 4.30am The Ten Minute News, 5.00am The Ten Minute News, 5.30am The Ten Minute News, 6.00am The Ten Minute News, 6.30am The Ten Minute News, 7.00am The Ten Minute News, 7.30am The Ten Minute News, 8.00am The Ten Minute News, 8.30am The Ten Minute News, 9.00am The Ten Minute News, 9.30am The Ten Minute News, 10.00am The Ten Minute News, 10.30am The Ten Minute News, 11.00am The Ten Minute News, 11.30am The Ten Minute News, 12.00am The Ten Minute News, 12.30am The Ten Minute News, 1.00am The Ten Minute News, 1.30am The Ten Minute News, 2.00am The Ten Minute News, 2.30am The Ten Minute News, 3.00am The Ten Minute News, 3.30am The Ten Minute News, 4.00am The Ten Minute News, 4.30am The Ten Minute News, 5.00am The Ten Minute News, 5.30am The Ten Minute News, 6.00am The Ten Minute News, 6.30am The Ten Minute News, 7.00am The Ten Minute News, 7.30am The Ten Minute News, 8.00am The Ten Minute News, 8.30am The Ten Minute News, 9.00am The Ten Minute News, 9.30am The Ten Minute News, 10.00am The Ten Minute News, 10.30am The Ten Minute News, 11.00am The Ten Minute News, 11.30am The Ten Minute News, 12.00am The Ten Minute News, 12.30am The Ten Minute News, 1.00am The Ten Minute News, 1.30am The Ten Minute News, 2.00am The Ten Minute News, 2.30am The Ten Minute News, 3.00am The Ten Minute News, 3.30am The Ten Minute News, 4.00am The Ten Minute News, 4.30am The Ten Minute News, 5.00am The Ten Minute News, 5.30am The Ten Minute News, 6.00am The Ten Minute News, 6.30am The Ten Minute News, 7.00am The Ten Minute News, 7.30am The Ten Minute News, 8.00am The Ten Minute News, 8.30am The Ten Minute News, 9.00am The Ten Minute News, 9.30am The Ten Minute News, 10.00am The Ten Minute News, 10.30am The Ten Minute News, 11.00am The Ten Minute News, 11.30am The Ten Minute News, 12.00am The Ten Minute News, 12.30am The Ten Minute News, 1.00am The Ten Minute News, 1.30am The Ten Minute News, 2.00am The Ten Minute News, 2.30am The Ten Minute News, 3.00am The Ten Minute News, 3.30am The Ten Minute News, 4.00am The Ten Minute News, 4.30am The Ten Minute News, 5.00am The Ten Minute News, 5.30am The Ten Minute News, 6.00am The Ten Minute News, 6.30am The Ten Minute News, 7.00am The Ten Minute News, 7.30am The Ten Minute News, 8.00am The Ten Minute News, 8.30am The Ten Minute News, 9.00am The Ten Minute News, 9.30am The Ten Minute News, 10.00am The Ten Minute News, 10.30am The Ten Minute News, 11.00am The Ten Minute News, 11.30am The Ten Minute News, 12.00am The Ten Minute News, 12.30am The Ten Minute News, 1.00am The Ten Minute News, 1.30am The Ten Minute News, 2.00am The Ten Minute News, 2.30am The Ten Minute News, 3.00am The Ten Minute News, 3.30am The Ten Minute News, 4.00am The Ten Minute News, 4.30am The Ten Minute News, 5.00am The Ten Minute News, 5.30am The Ten Minute News, 6.00am The Ten Minute News, 6.30am The Ten Minute News, 7.00am The Ten Minute News, 7.30am The Ten Minute News, 8.00am The Ten Minute News, 8.30am The Ten Minute News, 9.00am The Ten Minute News, 9.30am The Ten Minute News, 10.00am The Ten Minute News, 10.30am The Ten Minute News, 11.00am The Ten Minute News, 11.30am The Ten Minute News, 12.00am The Ten Minute News, 12.30am The Ten Minute News, 1.00am The Ten Minute News, 1.30am The Ten Minute News, 2.00am The Ten Minute News, 2.30am The Ten Minute News, 3.00am The Ten Minute News, 3.30am The Ten Minute News, 4.00am The Ten Minute News, 4.30am The Ten Minute News, 5.00am The Ten Minute News, 5.30am The Ten Minute News, 6.00am The Ten Minute News, 6.30am The Ten Minute News, 7.00am The Ten Minute News, 7.30am The Ten Minute News, 8.00am The Ten Minute News, 8.30am The Ten Minute News, 9.00am The Ten Minute News, 9.30am The Ten Minute News, 10.00am The Ten Minute News, 10.30am The Ten Minute News, 11.00am The Ten Minute News, 11.30am The Ten Minute News, 12.00am The Ten Minute News, 12.30am The Ten Minute News, 1.00am The Ten Minute News, 1.30am The Ten Minute News, 2.00am The Ten Minute News, 2.30am The Ten Minute News, 3.00am The Ten Minute News, 3.30am The Ten Minute News, 4.00am The Ten Minute News, 4.30am The Ten Minute News, 5.00am The Ten Minute News, 5.30am The Ten Minute News, 6.00am The Ten Minute News, 6.30am The Ten Minute News, 7.00am The Ten Minute News, 7.30am The Ten Minute News, 8.00am The Ten Minute News, 8.30am The Ten Minute News, 9.00am The Ten Minute News, 9.30am The Ten Minute News, 10.00am The Ten Minute News, 10.30am The Ten Minute News, 11.00am The Ten Minute News, 11.30am The Ten Minute News, 12.00am The Ten Minute News, 12.30am The Ten Minute News, 1.00am The Ten Minute News, 1.30am The Ten Minute News, 2.00am The Ten Minute News, 2.30am The Ten Minute News, 3.00am The Ten Minute News, 3.30am The Ten Minute News, 4.00am The Ten Minute News, 4.30am The Ten Minute News, 5.00am The Ten Minute News, 5.30am The Ten Minute News, 6.00am The Ten Minute News, 6.30am The Ten Minute News, 7.00am The Ten Minute News, 7.30am The Ten Minute News, 8.00am The Ten Minute News, 8.30am The Ten Minute News, 9.00am The Ten Minute News, 9.30am The Ten Minute News, 10.00am The Ten Minute News, 10.30am The Ten Minute News, 11.00am The Ten Minute News, 11.30am The Ten Minute News, 12.00am The Ten Minute News, 12.30am The Ten Minute News, 1.00am The Ten Minute News, 1.30am The Ten Minute News, 2.00am The Ten Minute News, 2.30am The Ten Minute News, 3.00am The Ten Minute News, 3.30am The Ten Minute News, 4.00am The Ten Minute News, 4.30am The Ten Minute News, 5.00am The Ten Minute News, 5.30am The Ten Minute News, 6.00am The Ten Minute News, 6.30am The Ten Minute News, 7.00am The Ten Minute News, 7.30am The Ten Minute News, 8.00am The Ten Minute News, 8.30am The Ten Minute News, 9.00am The Ten Minute News, 9.30am The Ten Minute News, 10.00am The Ten Minute News, 10.30am The Ten Minute News, 11.00am The Ten Minute News, 11.30am The Ten Minute News, 12.00am The Ten Minute News, 12.30am The Ten Minute News, 1.00am The Ten Minute News, 1.30am The Ten Minute News, 2.00am The Ten Minute News, 2.30am The Ten Minute News, 3.00am The Ten Minute News, 3.30am The Ten Minute News, 4.00am The Ten Minute News, 4.30am The Ten Minute News, 5.00am The Ten Minute News, 5.30am The Ten Minute News, 6.00am The Ten Minute News, 6.30am The Ten Minute News, 7.00am The Ten Minute News, 7.30am The Ten Minute News, 8.00am The Ten Minute News, 8.30am The Ten Minute News, 9.00am The Ten Minute News, 9.30am The Ten Minute News, 10.00am The Ten Minute News, 10.30am The Ten Minute News, 11.00am The Ten Minute News, 11.30am The Ten Minute News, 12.00am The Ten Minute News, 12.30am The Ten Minute News, 1.00am The Ten Minute News, 1.30am The Ten Minute News, 2.00am The Ten Minute News, 2.30am The Ten Minute News, 3.00am The Ten Minute News, 3.30am The Ten Minute News, 4.00am The Ten Minute News, 4.30am The Ten Minute News, 5.00am The Ten Minute News, 5.30am The Ten Minute News, 6.00am The Ten Minute News, 6.30am The Ten Minute News, 7.00am The Ten Minute News, 7.30am The Ten Minute News, 8.00am The Ten Minute News, 8.30am The Ten Minute News, 9.00am The Ten Minute News, 9.30am The Ten Minute News, 10.00am The Ten Minute News, 10.30am The Ten Minute News, 11.00am The Ten Minute News, 11.30am The Ten Minute News, 12.00am The Ten Minute News, 12.30am The Ten Minute News, 1.00am The Ten Minute News, 1.30am The Ten Minute News, 2.00am The Ten Minute News, 2.30am The Ten Minute News, 3.00am The Ten Minute News, 3.30am The Ten Minute News, 4.00am The Ten Minute News, 4.30am The Ten Minute News, 5.00am The Ten Minute News, 5.30am The Ten Minute News, 6.00am The Ten Minute News, 6.30am The Ten Minute News, 7.00am The Ten Minute News, 7.30am The Ten Minute News, 8.00am The Ten Minute News, 8.30am The Ten Minute News, 9.00am The Ten Minute News, 9.30am The Ten Minute News, 10.00am The Ten Minute News, 10.30am The Ten Minute News, 11.00am The Ten Minute News, 11.30am The Ten Minute News, 12.00am The Ten Minute News, 12.30am The Ten Minute News, 1.00am The Ten Minute News, 1.30am The Ten Minute News, 2.00am The Ten Minute News, 2.30am The Ten Minute News, 3.00am The Ten Minute News, 3.30am The Ten Minute News, 4.00am The Ten Minute News, 4.30am The Ten Minute News, 5.00am The Ten Minute News, 5.30am The Ten Minute News, 6.00am The Ten Minute News, 6.30am The Ten Minute News, 7.00am The Ten Minute News, 7.30am The Ten Minute News, 8.00am The Ten Minute News, 8.30am The Ten Minute News, 9.00am The Ten Minute News, 9.30am The Ten Minute News, 10.00am The Ten Minute News, 10.30am The Ten Minute News, 11.00am The Ten Minute News, 11.30am The Ten Minute News, 12.00am The Ten Minute News, 12.30am The Ten Minute News, 1.00am The Ten Minute News, 1.30am The Ten Minute News, 2.00am The Ten Minute News, 2.30am The Ten Minute News, 3.00am The Ten Minute News, 3.30am The Ten Minute News, 4.00am The Ten Minute News, 4.30am The Ten Minute News, 5.00am The Ten Minute News, 5.30am The Ten Minute News, 6.00am The Ten Minute News, 6.30am The Ten Minute News, 7.00am The Ten Minute News, 7.30am The Ten Minute News, 8.00am The Ten Minute News, 8.30am The Ten Minute News, 9.00am The Ten Minute News, 9.30am The Ten Minute News, 10.00am The Ten Minute News, 10.30am The Ten Minute News, 11.00am The Ten Minute News, 11.30am The Ten Minute News, 12.00am The Ten Minute News, 12.30am The Ten Minute News, 1.00am The Ten Minute News, 1.30am The Ten Minute News, 2.00am The Ten Minute News, 2.30am The Ten Minute News, 3.00am The Ten Minute News, 3.30am The Ten Minute News, 4.00am The Ten Minute News, 4.30am The Ten Minute News, 5.00am The Ten Minute News, 5.30am The Ten Minute News, 6.00am The Ten Minute News, 6.30am The Ten Minute News, 7.00am The Ten Minute News, 7.30am The Ten Minute News, 8.00am The Ten Minute News, 8.30am The Ten Minute News, 9.00am The Ten Minute News, 9.30am The Ten Minute News, 10.00am The Ten Minute News, 10.30am The Ten Minute News, 11.00am The Ten Minute News, 11.30am The Ten Minute News, 12.00am The Ten Minute News, 12.30am The Ten Minute News, 1.00am The Ten Minute News, 1.30am The Ten Minute News, 2.00am The Ten Minute News, 2.30am The Ten Minute News, 3.00am The Ten Minute News, 3.30am The Ten Minute News, 4.00am The Ten Minute News, 4.30am The Ten Minute News, 5.00am The Ten Minute News, 5.30am The Ten Minute News, 6.00am The Ten Minute News, 6.30am The Ten Minute News, 7.00am The Ten Minute News, 7.30am The Ten Minute News, 8.00am The Ten Minute News, 8.30am The Ten Minute News, 9.00am The Ten Minute News, 9.30am The Ten Minute News, 10.00am The Ten Minute News, 10.30am The Ten Minute News, 11.00am The Ten Minute News, 11.30am The Ten Minute News, 12.00am The Ten Minute News, 12.30am The Ten Minute News, 1.00am The Ten Minute News, 1.30am The Ten Minute News, 2.00am The Ten Minute News, 2.30am The Ten Minute News, 3.00am The Ten Minute News, 3.30am The Ten Minute News, 4.00am The Ten Minute News, 4.30am The Ten Minute News, 5.00am The Ten Minute News, 5.30am The Ten Minute News, 6.00am The Ten Minute News, 6.30am The Ten Minute News, 7.00am The Ten Minute News, 7.30am The Ten Minute News, 8.00am The Ten Minute News, 8.30am The Ten Minute News, 9.00am The Ten Minute News, 9.30am The Ten Minute News, 10.00am The Ten Minute News, 10.30am The Ten Minute News, 11.00am The Ten Minute News, 11.30

150 من الال

'The Millennial Generation seem to be self-confident and self-dependent. They aim high and do not think themselves limited by background. These qualities suggest that the future will feel the impact quite soon and that the new millennium might well be in safe hands'



Stephen O'Brien and Susan James... class barriers are still there, they say, and it matters who you know

PHOTOGRAPH: CHRISTOPHER THOMSON

'Determination is what counts'

Stephen O'Brien, aged 17, Aquinas Sixth Form College, Stockport

I THINK your background is very important in success because it provides you with ideas. If your background gives you the idea that you can succeed then you will, or at least that improves your chances. Unfortunately good connections probably do help although I would like to think they are not the most important thing. Education, both in school and out, is very important. It provides you with the knowledge and ability and different skills that you need. But it might not be enough. If you're not determined you won't get anywhere in today's world. There is so much competition from everyone else, with so many people going to university and getting a degree you need real determination. I respect some politicians, but only those who don't just follow the party line

but express their own opinions. I suppose someone like Ken Livingstone. As far as politics is concerned, I don't think the government should provide everybody with everything, but instead should encourage people to support themselves. They should be there as a safety net, for people like the unemployed, but that is about it. Money is important to me but it's not the most important thing. The businessman I respect is Sir Clive Sinclair, because he is one of the very few British businessmen who has come up with genuinely successful ideas. I think that some things do have to be banned because they are too harmful. Marriage and children are important to me, but in the future I would also like to think I will have done something that has made a difference to the world, or maybe be not to the world but to someone.

The anything goes generation

The baby-boomers children have been boldly shaped by the Thatcher years. **Stuart Millar** on a profile of young people ready to take charge

SELF-reliant, entrepreneurial risk-takers aspiring to be millionaires by the age of 35. Meet the Millennial Generation, identified for the first time today as the people who will shape British society in the 21st century.

In a report published today — billed as the first snapshot of the lives and values of these soon-to-be important citizens — the Institute confirms speculation that growing up in the 1980s and 1990s has produced a generation of 16- to 21-year-olds who overwhelmingly subscribe to the virtues of making money, who dismiss government, party politics and politicians as an irrelevance and who believe virtually anything should go.

Substantially different from either of their preceding social groupings, members of the Millennial Generation are products of an era in which there has been no challenge to the dominance of the market economy, according to the report. As a result, they are risk-takers, the institute says. Rejecting the outmoded notions of a job for life, almost half — male and female — expressed a desire to own their own business. Traditionally safe establishment jobs were similarly dismissed: just 1 per cent aspired to work in the Civil Service.

Not do they believe that class or privileged background still provide a shortcut to success, prompting the report to herald the arrival of the "classless, meritocratic society". Instead, the key ingredient, according to 72 per cent, was old-fashioned determination. Slightly fewer thought education helped.

There was also little support for the involvement of the authorities in other aspects of life. Asked what they believed should be outlawed, only ecstasy — curious for such a drug-liberal generation — and fox hunting drew substantial majorities in favour of a ban. Beef on the bone, explicit sex and violence on television, and even handgun ownership were

deemed largely acceptable. In only two areas did the 16- to 21-year-olds believe that the government should take a leading role. A little over half said it should provide an adequate pension and pay for university education, leaving substantial minorities who supported private provision.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, then, that New Labour is by far the generation's political party of choice. More than 60 per cent said they would vote for Tony Blair if there were a general election tomorrow. The Tories, despite repeated attempts to harness the youth vote, failed to attract even 20 per cent.

But that was where the good news stopped for Mr Blair and the mainstream political process. A quarter of the young people were either undecided (13 per cent) or said they would not vote at all (12 per cent). Regardless of their political affiliations, there was an overwhelming lack of faith in party politics: more than 70 per cent said the way they voted would make little difference to their life.

'Enjoy life and take risks'

Daniel Worthington, aged 16, South Dartmoor Community College, Ashburton

WEDON'T really know why we are here, but you only have one life and it's obviously something very special. You should enjoy it and take risks. At the end of the day, the most important thing in life is that you are happy and that you use it to the best of your potential. He is studying for A levels in English, Maths and Media Studies at South Dartmoor Community College in Ashburton, south Devon. Teachers are among his role models. "Alex Ferguson, manager of Manchester United, has got amazing leadership skills," he says. "He is my main icon — not just him but the whole of the Manchester United team. It probably sounds a bit sporty, but they have a certain flair about them that is exciting. I've had some great teachers. I never thought I would have a talent for English but certain teachers inspired me to carry on."

writing. I have not really decided yet about what to do after I leave school, travel and experiencing new things are important considerations. Joining the Navy holds a strong attraction because of the opportunities for travelling abroad. But media studies have made me aware of the power of the media, and now I am considering a career in the film industry. Sport and dance music play an important part in my life. But although I may be worried about the problem of hard drugs in Plymouth and Torquay, where I'll go chugging when I turn 18, I am more relaxed in my approach to other drug issues. I have the occasional cigarette, and, because I am allowed to drink moderately at home, I don't feel the need to make a big thing of it when I am out with friends. As a person you should make up your own mind whether you drink or smoke. And on the information I have at the moment, my feeling is that cannabis should be legalised. The Government could gain a lot of money from taxing it.



Daniel Worthington... inspiration from football team

Bored pupils give Bard the bird

Sarah Hall

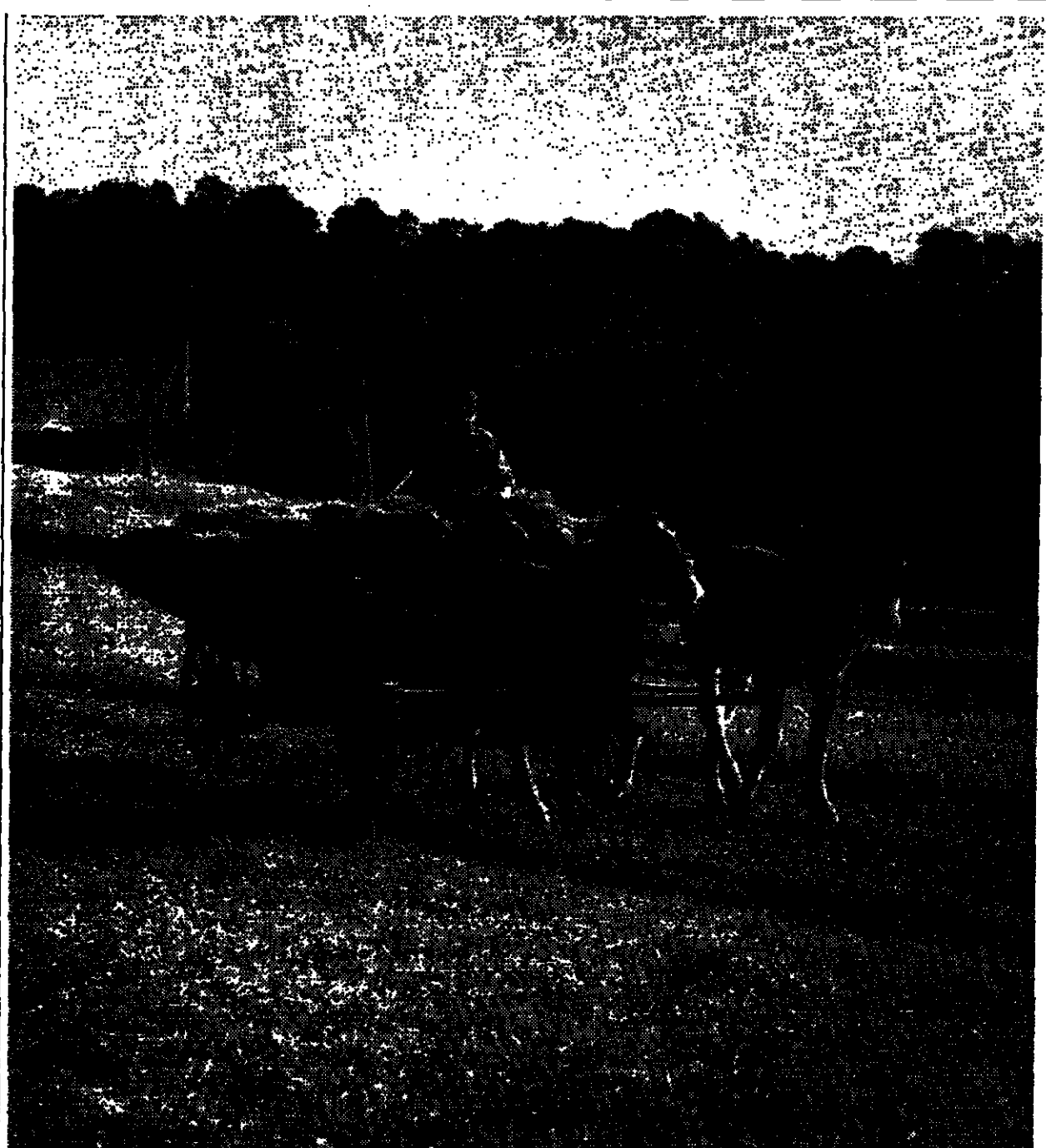
IT IS viewed as one of Shakespeare's more accessible plays: a GCSE staple celebrating female wit and the triumph of love over parental opposition. But, when 150 Devon schoolchildren attended a Royal Shakespeare Company performance of *The Merchant of Venice* last week, they were less than impressed. In true Elizabethan fashion, they expressed their disapproval by chatting, laughing, throwing sweet wrappers,

placing their feet on the seats, walking out and breaking wind. Yesterday it emerged that the Theatre Royal, in Plymouth, had written to members of its audience to apologise for the behaviour of the 12- to 16-year-old pupils — many of whom had never been to the theatre before, and all of whom had been given complimentary 225 tickets under a scheme jointly funded by Barclays Bank and the Arts Council. Several theatre-goers complained about the pupils' behaviour, and audience members were sent

letters offering free tickets to another performance. A spokesman for Theatre Royal, Tim Croall, said: "We wanted to explain the situation. We thought it was important to invite these pupils to see the world's leading theatre company but unfortunately some of them found it difficult adjusting to the new environment."

The children, from two Plymouth comprehensives, Tamaride community college and Parkside comprehensive, chatted for half an hour before a handful walked out, Mr Croall said. Gillian Sheldon, from Knightsbridge, south Devon, who had paid £50 for two stall seats, said her enjoyment had been completely ruined by the pupils' behaviour. "When you are trying to watch Shakespeare you don't want people chatting and laughing and going in and out."

Mr Croall said the children, who watched the production under the See It Live scheme, had been given the best seats to ensure their first visit to the theatre was memorable. His company is now assessing whether such parties should be separated.



If you're a friend of Jack Daniel's, drop us a line at the Jack Daniel Distillery, Lynchburg, Tennessee 37352 USA. Or visit us at www.jackdaniels.com

A TENNESSEE HAY WAGON, seldom seen these days, reminds us of the way Jack Daniel got his whiskey business rolling.

The young Jack Daniel often traveled the road to Huntsville, Alabama in a wagon much like this one. (He would hide his whiskey under the bales to protect it from highwaymen.) If you appreciate a smooth sippin' whiskey, you'll be happy to know we still make Jack Daniel's using the same methods Mr. Jack did. And, perhaps, even happier that we've found faster ways to deliver it to you.



JACK DANIEL'S TENNESSEE WHISKEY



Slow Food's manifesto warns against "obsessive worrying about hygienic matters" and pledges to preserve such endangered foods as Firiki apples from Greece and Sicilian lattume di tonno, sperm of male tuna. The gastronomes of Italy fight back.



Prince Charles receiving an 'over 50 kit' including pipe and slippers from theatre group Creature Feature yesterday, while right, he steps out with actor Hugo Speer on the Full Monty film set

PHOTOGRAPHS: PAUL HACKETT AND JOHN STILLWELL

Charles celebrates with pipe, slippers and the full monty

Martin Wainwright on how prince got into the party mood

PRINCE Charles launched his 50th birthday celebrations a day early yesterday, with a familiar royal mixture: a pensioner's kiss on a struggling estate, a glitzy Palace party and a political spat on the BBC.

Having spent the day in Sheffield, the prince later flew to London for his mother's formal celebration — 850 guests at Buckingham Palace — and the repercussions of claims that his staff are "at war" with those of the Queen.

The Prime Minister's press secretary Alastair Campbell described as "unsourced, mischief-making" a report by BBC political correspondent Jon Sopel that Downing Street was concerned at an alleged attempt to boost the prince's image against the wishes of "fuddy-duddies" at Buckingham Palace.

Mr Campbell earlier acknowledged the importance of new government links with the Palace immediately after Princess Diana's death. In an interview with Mr Sopel on Radio 4's Today programme, but he described claims that Downing Street had ridden to the rescue in the crisis as a "caricature".

Prince Charles's companion, Camilla Parker Bowles, was not among guests at last night's party, but will join a more intimate gathering for friends at the prince's Gloucestershire home, Highgrove, today.

Buckingham Palace played host to politicians, business leaders and beneficiaries of the Prince's Trust, including juggler Greg Wells, aged 31, from Lewes, who performed his party trick of balancing a chair and table on his nose.

Mr Wells, whose successful small business stems from a trust grant six years ago, set the tone for the

part of the day the Prince himself most enjoyed. Touting Sheffield's Manor estate yesterday morning, he said that seeing successful projects to employ young people and wean them off drugs were "the best birthday present I can have".



State of readiness: a Tornado pilot set for a bombing mission in the Gulf

'You can see black puffs of smoke but you are divorced from reality'

Stuart Miller

IT WAS a moment for which Gary Stapleton had trained for years. He knew exactly what to expect from his aircraft, the terrain and the enemy defence systems. But no amount of preparation completely steered him to the physical and emotional realities of bombing missions over Iraq in 1991.

As the new military build-up continued yesterday, Wing Commander Stapleton, who served with 15 Squadron during the Gulf war, explained the sort of pressures air crews will face this time around.

Then a squadron leader, he flew 18 missions in his Tornado GR1, leading the first daylight low-level bombing mission, in which flight lieutenants John Peters and John Nichol were shot down and taken prisoner by the Iraqis. "By the time of that first mission, our awareness was high and we were pretty confident in our ability to do the job," he said.

Allies reject Iraqi hints of negotiations

America delivers a simple choice: back down or else

Sam Black, Diplomatic Editor

SADDAM Hussein can still avoid air strikes if he lets United Nations weapons inspectors resume work, the United States and Britain insisted last night. But they rebuffed the first signs that Iraq wanted to negotiate its way out of the escalating crisis.

As the Western military build-up continued, President Saddam made what looked like a last-minute attempt to avoid attack — offering to respond "positively" to an ultimatum that would end sanctions against his country.

Opposition sources meanwhile reported from Baghdad that Iraq had gone onto a war footing, with internal security and intelligence forces being moved to the outskirts of the city as Republican Guard and popular militia units were redeployed to forestall unrest.

No timetable has been given for the start of attacks, but President Bill Clinton's departure for a 10-day Far East trip today is thought likely to delay any action.

Extra forces would be in place by the time he returned. In a statement issued to the official Iraqi news agency, President Saddam said his October 31 decision to end co-operation with the UN weapons inspectors was "intended to get responses to Iraq's legal demands".

But this seemed to offer little possibility of compromise. Washington and London have repeatedly insisted there can be no easing of sanctions before full compliance with the UN inspectors.

And Madeleine Albright, the US secretary of state, said Iraq wanted to negotiate with a demand that the Iraqi leader publicly rescind his decision.

"Iraq has a simple choice: reverse course or face the consequences," Mrs Albright warned.

Diplomats said President Saddam's statement fitted a pattern familiar from previous confrontations, of seeking to buy time and exploit international divisions by sowing confusion.

It followed a meeting between the Iraqi leader and the Russian ambassador to Baghdad, Nikolai Kartousov.

The US and Britain have already blocked one potential avenue for negotiation. They insisted there is no need for a last-ditch mission to Iraq by the UN secretary-general, Kofi Annan, as recommended by Russia.

Moscow, Baghdad's best friend on the Security Council, has said it supports Mr Annan, who headed off threatened US-led air strikes in February by cutting an eleventh-hour deal with Iraq.

Weapons inspectors were "intended to get responses to Iraq's legal demands".

But this seemed to offer little possibility of compromise. Washington and London have repeatedly insisted there can be no easing of sanctions before full compliance with the UN inspectors.

And Madeleine Albright, the US secretary of state, said Iraq wanted to negotiate with a demand that the Iraqi leader publicly rescind his decision.

"Iraq has a simple choice: reverse course or face the consequences," Mrs Albright warned.

Diplomats said President Saddam's statement fitted a pattern familiar from previous confrontations, of seeking to buy time and exploit international divisions by sowing confusion.

Peers defied as vote bill returns to Lords again

Michael White, Political Editor

THE Government last night refused to blink in its showdown with the House of Lords over the peers' third successive refusal to bow to the will of the Commons over voting methods for the Euro elections.

After discussions between the Prime Minister and Jack Straw, the Home Secretary, yesterday, the bill is to be amended again — for the fourth time, on Monday — and sent back to the Lords. It may include a further concession on the terms of the proposed review into the "closed party list" which will require voters to back a party rather than a candidate.

William Hague, leader of the Conservative Party, and his Lords leader, Lord Cranborne, argue that they represent public opinion against Labour's "control freak" tendency and the Commons' New Labour "lobby fodder".

But Downing Street and the Home Office remain adamant that they will not let the hereditary peers — whose votes clinched Thursday night's 225 to 134 majority — dictate to them on a manifesto issue.

They would prefer to risk trying to push the bill through in the new session, using guillotine procedures. But this would only work if it can be done fast enough by late January, so as not to cause chaos to the June 1999 Euro elections. If the Tories filibuster, it will not work.

Falling that tactic, they will let the Euro elections take place under the normal first-past-the-post voting system, aware that more of the 60 Labour MEPs will survive — and that Tories and Lib Dems will lose a dozen seats.

Privately, Liberal Democrat MPs and peers, who are backing Labour to show solidarity over constitutional reform, agree that the crossbench majority has a good case against "closed lists", which give party bosses too much power. But they also believe the Tories are simply playing politics.

Either side's game plan could be disastrous, not least since the Lib Dems will be peeved if they do not get proportional representation for another five years.

A Leftwinger, Liz Davies, one of the new Grassroots Alliance members of the NEC yesterday added to widespread protest against a draft code restricting NEC access to the media. "It seems to be designed to stop the constituency members of the NEC, elected by ordinary Labour party members, from speaking [their] mind," Ms Davies said.

"If we shut out party members will find out what happened at the NEC from the Milbank mags and from Alastair Campbell. I don't think that's acceptable." But NEC colleague Hilary Armstrong, the local government minister, said the code was designed to prevent destructive squabbling. "This isn't a question of gagging. It's a question of a professional organisation treating its NEC members in a way any major organisation would service and look after the people on its board."

William Hague, leader of the Conservative Party, and his Lords leader, Lord Cranborne, argue that they represent public opinion against Labour's "control freak" tendency and the Commons' New Labour "lobby fodder".

But Downing Street and the Home Office remain adamant that they will not let the hereditary peers — whose votes clinched Thursday night's 225 to 134 majority — dictate to them on a manifesto issue.

They would prefer to risk trying to push the bill through in the new session, using guillotine procedures. But this would only work if it can be done fast enough by late January, so as not to cause chaos to the June 1999 Euro elections. If the Tories filibuster, it will not work.

Falling that tactic, they will let the Euro elections take place under the normal first-past-the-post voting system, aware that more of the 60 Labour MEPs will survive — and that Tories and Lib Dems will lose a dozen seats.

Privately, Liberal Democrat MPs and peers, who are backing Labour to show solidarity over constitutional reform, agree that the crossbench majority has a good case against "closed lists", which give party bosses too much power. But they also believe the Tories are simply playing politics.

Either side's game plan could be disastrous, not least since the Lib Dems will be peeved if they do not get proportional representation for another five years.

A Leftwinger, Liz Davies, one of the new Grassroots Alliance members of the NEC yesterday added to widespread protest against a draft code restricting NEC access to the media. "It seems to be designed to stop the constituency members of the NEC, elected by ordinary Labour party members, from speaking [their] mind," Ms Davies said.

"If we shut out party members will find out what happened at the NEC from the Milbank mags and from Alastair Campbell. I don't think that's acceptable." But NEC colleague Hilary Armstrong, the local government minister, said the code was designed to prevent destructive squabbling. "This isn't a question of gagging. It's a question of a professional organisation treating its NEC members in a way any major organisation would service and look after the people on its board."

William Hague, leader of the Conservative Party, and his Lords leader, Lord Cranborne, argue that they represent public opinion against Labour's "control freak" tendency and the Commons' New Labour "lobby fodder".

But Downing Street and the Home Office remain adamant that they will not let the hereditary peers — whose votes clinched Thursday night's 225 to 134 majority — dictate to them on a manifesto issue.

They would prefer to risk trying to push the bill through in the new session, using guillotine procedures. But this would only work if it can be done fast enough by late January, so as not to cause chaos to the June 1999 Euro elections. If the Tories filibuster, it will not work.

Falling that tactic, they will let the Euro elections take place under the normal first-past-the-post voting system, aware that more of the 60 Labour MEPs will survive — and that Tories and Lib Dems will lose a dozen seats.

Privately, Liberal Democrat MPs and peers, who are backing Labour to show solidarity over constitutional reform, agree that the crossbench majority has a good case against "closed lists", which give party bosses too much power. But they also believe the Tories are simply playing politics.

Either side's game plan could be disastrous, not least since the Lib Dems will be peeved if they do not get proportional representation for another five years.

A Leftwinger, Liz Davies, one of the new Grassroots Alliance members of the NEC yesterday added to widespread protest against a draft code restricting NEC access to the media. "It seems to be designed to stop the constituency members of the NEC, elected by ordinary Labour party members, from speaking [their] mind," Ms Davies said.

"If we shut out party members will find out what happened at the NEC from the Milbank mags and from Alastair Campbell. I don't think that's acceptable." But NEC colleague Hilary Armstrong, the local government minister, said the code was designed to prevent destructive squabbling. "This isn't a question of gagging. It's a question of a professional organisation treating its NEC members in a way any major organisation would service and look after the people on its board."

William Hague, leader of the Conservative Party, and his Lords leader, Lord Cranborne, argue that they represent public opinion against Labour's "control freak" tendency and the Commons' New Labour "lobby fodder".

But Downing Street and the Home Office remain adamant that they will not let the hereditary peers — whose votes clinched Thursday night's 225 to 134 majority — dictate to them on a manifesto issue.

They would prefer to risk trying to push the bill through in the new session, using guillotine procedures. But this would only work if it can be done fast enough by late January, so as not to cause chaos to the June 1999 Euro elections. If the Tories filibuster, it will not work.

Falling that tactic, they will let the Euro elections take place under the normal first-past-the-post voting system, aware that more of the 60 Labour MEPs will survive — and that Tories and Lib Dems will lose a dozen seats.

Privately, Liberal Democrat MPs and peers, who are backing Labour to show solidarity over constitutional reform, agree that the crossbench majority has a good case against "closed lists", which give party bosses too much power. But they also believe the Tories are simply playing politics.

Either side's game plan could be disastrous, not least since the Lib Dems will be peeved if they do not get proportional representation for another five years.

A Leftwinger, Liz Davies, one of the new Grassroots Alliance members of the NEC yesterday added to widespread protest against a draft code restricting NEC access to the media. "It seems to be designed to stop the constituency members of the NEC, elected by ordinary Labour party members, from speaking [their] mind," Ms Davies said.

"If we shut out party members will find out what happened at the NEC from the Milbank mags and from Alastair Campbell. I don't think that's acceptable." But NEC colleague Hilary Armstrong, the local government minister, said the code was designed to prevent destructive squabbling. "This isn't a question of gagging. It's a question of a professional organisation treating its NEC members in a way any major organisation would service and look after the people on its board."

William Hague, leader of the Conservative Party, and his Lords leader, Lord Cranborne, argue that they represent public opinion against Labour's "control freak" tendency and the Commons' New Labour "lobby fodder".

But Downing Street and the Home Office remain adamant that they will not let the hereditary peers — whose votes clinched Thursday night's 225 to 134 majority — dictate to them on a manifesto issue.

They would prefer to risk trying to push the bill through in the new session, using guillotine procedures. But this would only work if it can be done fast enough by late January, so as not to cause chaos to the June 1999 Euro elections. If the Tories filibuster, it will not work.

Falling that tactic, they will let the Euro elections take place under the normal first-past-the-post voting system, aware that more of the 60 Labour MEPs will survive — and that Tories and Lib Dems will lose a dozen seats.

Privately, Liberal Democrat MPs and peers, who are backing Labour to show solidarity over constitutional reform, agree that the crossbench majority has a good case against "closed lists", which give party bosses too much power. But they also believe the Tories are simply playing politics.

Either side's game plan could be disastrous, not least since the Lib Dems will be peeved if they do not get proportional representation for another five years.

A Leftwinger, Liz Davies, one of the new Grassroots Alliance members of the NEC yesterday added to widespread protest against a draft code restricting NEC access to the media. "It seems to be designed to stop the constituency members of the NEC, elected by ordinary Labour party members, from speaking [their] mind," Ms Davies said.

"If we shut out party members will find out what happened at the NEC from the Milbank mags and from Alastair Campbell. I don't think that's acceptable." But NEC colleague Hilary Armstrong, the local government minister, said the code was designed to prevent destructive squabbling. "This isn't a question of gagging. It's a question of a professional organisation treating its NEC members in a way any major organisation would service and look after the people on its board."

William Hague, leader of the Conservative Party, and his Lords leader, Lord Cranborne, argue that they represent public opinion against Labour's "control freak" tendency and the Commons' New Labour "lobby fodder".

But Downing Street and the Home Office remain adamant that they will not let the hereditary peers — whose votes clinched Thursday night's 225 to 134 majority — dictate to them on a manifesto issue.

They would prefer to risk trying to push the bill through in the new session, using guillotine procedures. But this would only work if it can be done fast enough by late January, so as not to cause chaos to the June 1999 Euro elections. If the Tories filibuster, it will not work.

Falling that tactic, they will let the Euro elections take place under the normal first-past-the-post voting system, aware that more of the 60 Labour MEPs will survive — and that Tories and Lib Dems will lose a dozen seats.

Privately, Liberal Democrat MPs and peers, who are backing Labour to show solidarity over constitutional reform, agree that the crossbench majority has a good case against "closed lists", which give party bosses too much power. But they also believe the Tories are simply playing politics.

Either side's game plan could be disastrous, not least since the Lib Dems will be peeved if they do not get proportional representation for another five years.

A Leftwinger, Liz Davies, one of the new Grassroots Alliance members of the NEC yesterday added to widespread protest against a draft code restricting NEC access to the media. "It seems to be designed to stop the constituency members of the NEC, elected by ordinary Labour party members, from speaking [their] mind," Ms Davies said.

"If we shut out party members will find out what happened at the NEC from the Milbank mags and from Alastair Campbell. I don't think that's acceptable." But NEC colleague Hilary Armstrong, the local government minister, said the code was designed to prevent destructive squabbling. "This isn't a question of gagging. It's a question of a professional organisation treating its NEC members in a way any major organisation would service and look after the people on its board."

William Hague, leader of the Conservative Party, and his Lords leader, Lord Cranborne, argue that they represent public opinion against Labour's "control freak" tendency and the Commons' New Labour "lobby fodder".

But Downing Street and the Home Office remain adamant that they will not let the hereditary peers — whose votes clinched Thursday night's 225 to 134 majority — dictate to them on a manifesto issue.

They would prefer to risk trying to push the bill through in the new session, using guillotine procedures. But this would only work if it can be done fast enough by late January, so as not to cause chaos to the June 1999 Euro elections. If the Tories filibuster, it will not work.

Falling that tactic, they will let the Euro elections take place under the normal first-past-the-post voting system, aware that more of the 60 Labour MEPs will survive — and that Tories and Lib Dems will lose a dozen seats.

Privately, Liberal Democrat MPs and peers, who are backing Labour to show solidarity over constitutional reform, agree that the crossbench majority has a good case against "closed lists", which give party bosses too much power. But they also believe the Tories are simply playing politics.

Either side's game plan could be disastrous, not least since the Lib Dems will be peeved if they do not get proportional representation for another five years.

A Leftwinger, Liz Davies, one of the new Grassroots Alliance members of the NEC yesterday added to widespread protest against a draft code restricting NEC access to the media. "It seems to be designed to stop the constituency members of the NEC, elected by ordinary Labour party members, from speaking [their] mind," Ms Davies said.

"If we shut out party members will find out what happened at the NEC from the Milbank mags and from Alastair Campbell. I don't think that's acceptable." But NEC colleague Hilary Armstrong, the local government minister, said the code was designed to prevent destructive squabbling. "This isn't a question of gagging. It's a question of a professional organisation treating its NEC members in a way any major organisation would service and look after the people on its board."

William Hague, leader of the Conservative Party, and his Lords leader, Lord Cranborne, argue that they represent public opinion against Labour's "control freak" tendency and the Commons' New Labour "lobby fodder".

But Downing Street and the Home Office remain adamant that they will not let the hereditary peers — whose votes clinched Thursday night's 225 to 134 majority — dictate to them on a manifesto issue.

They would prefer to risk trying to push the bill through in the new session, using guillotine procedures. But this would only work if it can be done fast enough by late January, so as not to cause chaos to the June 1999 Euro elections. If the Tories filibuster, it will not work.

Falling that tactic, they will let the Euro elections take place under the normal first-past-the-post voting system, aware that more of the 60 Labour MEPs will survive — and that Tories and Lib Dems will lose a dozen seats.

Privately, Liberal Democrat MPs and peers, who are backing Labour to show solidarity over constitutional reform, agree that the crossbench majority has a good case against "closed lists", which give party bosses too much power. But they also believe the Tories are simply playing politics.

Either side's game plan could be disastrous, not least since the Lib Dems will be peeved if they do not get proportional representation for another five years.

A Leftwinger, Liz Davies, one of the new Grassroots Alliance members of the NEC yesterday added to widespread protest against a draft code restricting NEC access to the media. "It seems to be designed to stop the constituency members of the NEC, elected by ordinary Labour party members, from speaking [their] mind," Ms Davies said.

"If we shut out party members will find out what happened at the NEC from the Milbank mags and from Alastair Campbell. I don't think that's acceptable." But NEC colleague Hilary Armstrong, the local government minister, said the code was designed to prevent destructive squabbling. "This isn't a question of gagging. It's a question of a professional organisation treating its NEC members in a way any major organisation would service and look after the people on its board."

William Hague, leader of the Conservative Party, and his Lords leader, Lord Cranborne, argue that they represent public opinion against Labour's "control freak" tendency and the Commons' New Labour "lobby fodder".

But Downing Street and the Home Office remain adamant that they will not let the hereditary peers — whose votes clinched Thursday night's 225 to 134 majority — dictate to them on a manifesto issue.

They would prefer to risk trying to push the bill through in the new session, using guillotine procedures. But this would only work if it can be done fast enough by late January, so as not to cause chaos to the June 1999 Euro elections. If the Tories filibuster, it will not work.

Falling that tactic, they will let the Euro elections take place under the normal first-past-the-post voting system, aware that more of the 60 Labour MEPs will survive — and that Tories and Lib Dems will lose a dozen seats.

Privately, Liberal Democrat MPs and peers, who are backing Labour to show solidarity over constitutional reform, agree that the crossbench majority has a good case against "closed lists", which give party bosses too much power. But they also believe the Tories are simply playing politics.

Either side's game plan could be disastrous, not least since the Lib Dems will be peeved if they do not get proportional representation for another five years.

A Leftwinger, Liz Davies, one of the new Grassroots Alliance members of the NEC yesterday added to widespread protest against a draft code restricting NEC access to the media. "It seems to be designed to stop the constituency members of the NEC, elected by ordinary Labour party members, from speaking [their] mind," Ms Davies said.

"If we shut out party members will find out what happened at the NEC from the Milbank mags and from Alastair Campbell. I don't think that's acceptable." But NEC colleague Hilary Armstrong, the local government minister, said the code was designed to prevent destructive squabbling. "This isn't a question of gagging. It's a question of a professional organisation treating its NEC members in a way any major organisation would service and look after the people on its board."

William Hague, leader of the Conservative Party, and his Lords leader, Lord Cranborne, argue that they represent public opinion against Labour's "control freak" tendency and the Commons' New Labour "lobby fodder".

But Downing Street and the Home Office remain adamant that they will not let the hereditary peers — whose votes clinched Thursday night's 225 to 134 majority — dictate to them on a manifesto issue.

They would prefer to risk trying to push the bill through in the new session, using guillotine procedures. But this would only work if it can be done fast enough by late January, so as not to cause chaos to the June 1999 Euro elections. If the Tories filibuster, it will not work.

Falling that tactic, they will let the Euro elections take place under the normal first-past-the-post voting system, aware that more of the 60 Labour MEPs will survive — and that Tories and Lib Dems will lose a dozen seats.

Privately, Liberal Democrat MPs and peers, who are backing Labour to show solidarity over constitutional reform, agree that the crossbench majority has a good case against "closed lists", which give party bosses too much power. But they also believe the Tories are simply playing politics.

Either side's game plan could be disastrous, not least since the Lib Dems will be peeved if they do not get proportional representation for another five years.

A Leftwinger, Liz Davies, one of the new Grassroots Alliance members of the NEC yesterday added to widespread protest against a draft code restricting NEC access to the media. "It seems to be designed to stop the constituency members of the NEC, elected by ordinary Labour party members, from speaking [their] mind," Ms Davies said.

"If we shut out party members will find out what happened at the NEC from the Milbank mags and from Alastair Campbell. I don't think that's acceptable." But NEC colleague Hilary Armstrong, the local government minister, said the code was designed to prevent destructive squabbling. "This isn't a question of gagging. It's a question of a professional organisation treating its NEC members in a way any major organisation would service and look after the people on its board."

William Hague, leader of the Conservative Party, and his Lords leader, Lord Cranborne, argue that they represent public opinion against Labour's "control freak" tendency and the Commons' New Labour "lobby fodder".

But Downing Street and the Home Office remain adamant that they will not let the hereditary peers — whose votes clinched Thursday night's 225 to 134 majority — dictate to them on a manifesto issue.

They would prefer to risk trying to push the bill through in the new session, using guillotine procedures. But this would only work if it can be done fast enough by late January, so as not to cause chaos to the June 1999 Euro elections. If the Tories filibuster, it will not work.

Falling that tactic, they will let the Euro elections take place under the normal first-past-the-post voting system, aware that more of the 60 Labour MEPs will survive — and that Tories and Lib Dems will lose a dozen seats.

Privately, Liberal Democrat MPs and peers, who are backing Labour to show solidarity over constitutional reform, agree that the crossbench majority has a good case against "closed lists", which give party bosses too much power. But they also believe the Tories are simply playing politics.

Either side's game plan could be disastrous, not least since the Lib Dems will be peeved if they do not get proportional representation for another five years.

A Leftwinger, Liz Davies, one of the new Grassroots Alliance members of the NEC yesterday added to widespread protest against a draft code restricting NEC access to the media. "It seems to be designed to stop the constituency members of the NEC, elected by ordinary Labour party members, from speaking [their] mind," Ms Davies said.

"If we shut out party members will find out what happened at the NEC from the Milbank mags and from Alastair Campbell. I don't think that's acceptable." But NEC colleague Hilary Armstrong, the local government minister, said the code was designed to prevent destructive squabbling. "This isn't a question of gagging. It's a question of a professional organisation treating its NEC members in a way any major organisation would service and look after the people on its board."

William Hague, leader of the Conservative Party, and his Lords leader, Lord Cranborne, argue that they represent public opinion against Labour's "control freak" tendency and the Commons' New Labour "lobby fodder".

But Downing Street and the Home Office remain adamant that they will not let the hereditary peers — whose votes clinched Thursday night's 225 to 134 majority — dictate to them on a manifesto issue.

They would prefer to risk trying to push the bill through in the new session, using guillotine procedures. But this would only work if it can be done fast enough by late January, so as not to cause chaos to the June 1999 Euro elections. If the Tories filibuster, it will not work.

Falling that tactic, they will let the Euro elections take place under the normal first-past-the-post voting system, aware that more of the 60 Labour MEPs will survive — and that Tories and Lib Dems will lose a dozen seats.

Privately, Liberal Democrat MPs and peers, who are backing Labour to show solidarity over constitutional reform, agree that the crossbench majority has a good case against "closed lists", which give party bosses too much power. But they also believe the Tories are simply playing politics.

Either side's game plan could be disastrous, not least since the Lib Dems will be peeved if they do not get proportional representation for another five years.

A Leftwinger, Liz Davies, one of the new Grassroots Alliance members of the NEC yesterday added to widespread protest against a draft code restricting NEC access to the media. "It seems to be designed to stop the constituency members of the NEC, elected by ordinary Labour party members, from speaking [their] mind," Ms Davies said.

"If we shut out party members will find out what happened at the NEC from the Milbank mags and from Alastair Campbell. I don't think that's acceptable." But NEC colleague Hilary Armstrong, the local government minister, said the code was designed to prevent destructive squabbling. "This isn't a question of gagging. It's a question of a professional organisation treating its NEC members in a way any major organisation would service and look after the people on its board."

William Hague, leader of the Conservative Party, and his Lords leader, Lord Cranborne, argue that they represent public opinion against Labour's "control freak" tendency and the Commons' New Labour "lobby fodder".

But Downing Street and the Home Office remain adamant that they will not let the hereditary peers — whose votes clinched Thursday night's 225 to 134 majority — dictate to them on a manifesto issue.

They would prefer to risk trying to push the bill through in the new session, using guillotine procedures. But this would only work if it can be done fast enough by late January, so as not to cause chaos to the June 1999 Euro elections. If the Tories filib

'Scandal' of sex abuse doctor free to practise

Frances Rickford

A CLINICAL psychologist found guilty of sexual misconduct with patients suffering from eating disorders, has been allowed to remain a fellow of the British Psychological Society.

Peter Slade, formerly professor of clinical psychology at the University of Liverpool, had admitted behaving "inappropriately, and in a sexual manner" with several patients, and to having a personal sexual relationship with one young woman, according to a report in the BPS journal *The Psychologist*.

He also told the BPS's disciplinary board in September that he had been practising as a psychologist while an alcoholic and while his professional judgment and abilities were seriously impaired.

The case was brought after four complaints from patients. It was the second occasion Dr Slade had been disciplined for sexual misconduct. In May 1996, his BPS membership was suspended for two years after he was found guilty of professional misconduct at the Merseyside Eating Disorders Service, where he was working under contract between the University of Liverpool and Liverpool health authority.

A spokesman for Liverpool health authority said that one patient was so traumatised by her relationship with Dr Slade that she ended up needing continuous care and treatment. The university's contract with the Liverpool health authority, to provide therapeutic care at the eating disorders clinic, was terminated after an investigation into the first complaint against Dr Slade. A month after the BPS hearing, Dr Slade took early retirement from his post at the university.

At its recent hearing the disciplinary board reported that Dr Slade had "voluntarily withdrawn his name from the register of chartered psychologists", and had

promised not to engage in clinical practice again or repeat his offending behaviour. It finds him guilty of professional misconduct but says he will keep his BPS membership and fellowship.

Clinical psychologists are not required to register to practise, so cannot be "struck off". Dr Slade could return to clinical practice, either privately or in the NHS. But the decision by the BPS board to allow Dr Slade to remain a member and fellow, has caused outrage among other members and advocates for victims of abuse by professionals. Pat Gurnan, vice chair of the BPS's division of clinical psychology, said she had grave concerns about the ruling and would raise the matter at a meeting of the division's executive next week. "This gives a very ambiguous message about our role in protecting the public. We have a situation in which someone who appears to be a serial offender can retain his membership of my division and his fellowship of the society, yet... there is no scope for a review or an appeal of the decision."

Frances Blunden of the Prevention of Professional Abuse Network, which counsels victims of abuse by health and social care professionals, described the BPS decision as "scandalous". Ms Blunden said: "These people are already vulnerable... the disciplinary board seems not to have paid enough attention to the damage done to the victims in this case and I feel this decision undermines the credibility of the BPS as a reputable professional association."

Ingrid Lunt, president of the British Psychological Society, said yesterday: "Serious concerns have been expressed at all levels within the society about the outcome of this case. Our disciplinary procedures were set up and approved by the Privy Council to be independent and also to contain a majority of non-psychologists who are senior members of other professions."



Susan Crawford, the woman killed, above left; Luke Warm Luke (Michael Folkes), top right, covers his face as he arrives at the Old Bailey; and below, Baroness Scotland



Medical error blamed for killing

David Brindle, Social Services Correspondent

ONE of Britain's top psychiatrists made a fatal error of interpretation of mental health law which led to a mentally ill man killing a mother of four, an inquiry yesterday concluded.

James MacKeith believed his patient, Michael Folkes, who had changed his name to Luke Warm Luke, was within his rights to insist on taking his medication orally rather than by monthly injection. Having made the switch, he defaulted on the treatment,

became unwell and carried out the attack.

According to the inquiry team, led by Baroness Scotland, QC, Dr MacKeith was wrong not to have considered Luke's insistence a breach of the terms on which he had been discharged from a restriction order into the community.

"The complexity and the difficulty of the balancing exercise which clinicians have to make daily as the guardians of the patient's health, and the public safety, should not be underestimated," the team's report says. "Even the most eminent can be tested to the utmost of their skill — and occasionally fail."

Luke, now 36, was sent to

Broadmoor top security hospital indefinitely in 1995 after being convicted of manslaughter of Susan Crawford, a friend. He had stabbed her up to 70 times with a pair of scissors and beaten her with a fire extinguisher.

The inquiry has been exhaustive. Dr MacKeith was questioned for five days and the report runs to almost 600 pages.

Lady Scotland said a catalogue of mistakes had been made by those involved in caring for Luke, who had a long history of mental illness and violence, after his discharge into the community. The members of his "after-care team" — Dr MacKeith, community psy-

chiatric nurse Connor Kinsella and probation officer John Sinden — never met together during the 26 months they were responsible for him.

Had Luke been placed in hostel accommodation with 24-hour support, rather than left to live on his own, the tragic sequence of events would probably never have happened, Lady Scotland said.

Dr MacKeith, of the Bethlem & Maudsley mental health trust in south London, is an expert in psychiatric disorder. He was called in to give a second opinion on Michael Stone, recently convicted of the murders of Lin and Megan Russell, and he is

a member of the Criminal Cases Review Commission.

Although an internal NHS inquiry found no grounds for disciplining staff, the Royal College of Psychiatrists is now to be asked urgently to assess whether the after-care team acted appropriately in the context of policies and practices at the time.

Asked whether disciplinary action could result, Eric Byers, chief executive of the Bethlem & Maudsley, said: "Yes, indeed."

The inquiry report warns against "sensationalised and ill-informed" criticism of care in the community. Of some 700 mentally ill patients discharged, like Luke, from

restriction orders in the 10 years to 1994, only three were re-convicted of serious offences.

Although Lady Scotland welcomed the Government's current review of the Mental Health Act, saying clarity was essential, mental health charities said the inquiry findings did not support the case for new powers of compulsory treatment in the community.

Cliff Prior, chief executive of the National Schizophrenia Fellowship, said: "The powers were there to compel, if necessary. What wasn't there were the resources to keep in touch with the individual and respond when things were going wrong."

Greek parents of boy to sue 'hair-snatcher'

Helena Smith in Athens

THE Greek parents of a seven-year-old boy on Rhodes yesterday filed a suit against a British holiday-maker for "harassing" them in the belief he was Ben Needham, the toddler who disappeared on the nearby island of Kos in 1991.

After seeking legal counsel from Rhodes' public prosecutor, the boy's father, Nikolaos Skylarakis, announced he would go all the way "in suing John Cookson, the tourist who had snatched a hair from the head of his son Savvas for DNA testing."

Forensic scientists in Wetherby, west Yorkshire, are to examine the hair to see if it matches with a strand taken from Christine Needham, Ben's 44-year-old maternal grandmother. Yesterday, the farmer stormed into Rhodes' main police station in a "fit of rage" to also bring charges against the Sun newspaper.



Ben Needham: missing in Greece since 1991

Officers said Mr Skylarakis, who has three other sons, claimed the two Sun reporters dispatched to the island, had "grossly violated" his family's privacy in a determined effort to prove that "Savvas was Ben". In filing the suit the farmer cited "fear for the boy's life... after being indirectly accused of abducting him."

Dimitris Deyermetzoglou at the Public Order Ministry in Athens, who is heading the hunt for Ben in Greece, said: "The prosecutor will order an inquiry as soon as the suit is written up. Under European Union law the defendants will be called to answer the charges. Ben is the only missing person who has never been found in Greece. No one wants to find him more than the Greek police."

Mr Deyermetzoglou said it had been "proved beyond any doubt" that the boy was not Ben Needham. Greek investigators had, he said, been sent to the village of Malona, 25 kilometres outside Rhodes town, where the Skylarakis family run a taverna, and combed the community's archives.

Georgios Sissimatos, an obstetrician at Rhodes Hospital, had confirmed the birth of Savvas in August 1991. A local paediatrician, Nikolaos Petroniatis, whose signature appeared in the child's health care book, also confirmed that he had periodically checked the boy ever since. "They are poor people and they live in a very small community. People remember Savvas' mother being pregnant," Mr Deyermetzoglou said. "Beyond any doubt this boy is not Ben Needham. All of the fuss is yet another fairy tale about him."

Will Woodward

IN tabloid terms, it was surprising. In a matter where admissions of error tend to come only on the orders of learned friends, the Sun's leader column on Thursday represented a waving of the white flag amid a row it wished it had never provoked.

"From now on the Sun will not reveal the sexuality of any gays, men or women, unless we believe it can be defended on the grounds of overwhelming public interest," it said, ending with "Now, can we please all get on with what really matters in life?"

Three days earlier, at the beginning of the worst week for the paper that anyone can remember, it had seemed to "STAY THE HELL OUT OF THE TRUTH TONY" the paper's front page demanded of the Prime Minister on Monday. "Are we being run by a gay mafia?... The public has the right to know how many homosexuals occupy positions of high power. We have a right to know about secret liaisons which might explain what certain policies are persistently pursued or worrying matters kept secret."

In fact, as a Guardian poll showed the next day, a dwindling minority of the public — about a third — cared whether Cabinet ministers were gay. Among social classes D and E, the Sun's base, a majority thought being openly gay was "compatible" with holding a government post.

The Mirror, which argued that the public had a right to know every MP's sexuality, found their readers disagreed by a large majority. Westminster and chattering class opinion united in condemnation.

Many Labour MPs reminded themselves why they didn't like the Sun. Peter Riddell, from the Times, the Sun's Wapping stablemate, denounced the "gay mafia" claim as the work of "paranoid fantasists", "not only grotesquely offensive but... ludicrous in its own terms."

The Ron Davies affair and the "outing" of two other MPs, Nick Brown, the Agriculture Minister, and Peter Mandelson, the Trade and In-



David Yelland realised that his paper had gone too far. It was the start of one of the Sun's worst weeks yet

dustrial Secretary, far from spreading "alarm", was heralding a new tolerance. Ironically, the Sun's approach to the Mandelson story led one Daily Telegraph columnist — on the very day the "gay mafia" claim appeared — to give new Sun editor David Yelland "a place of honour" among men who "by their actions, change the world".

But here was the same editor apparently endorsing attitudes and fears still shared by many but becoming rapidly dated. One official noted how other papers had "gone through... angst" over its attitude to the wave of "gay

minister" stories but had held fire. The Sun had jumped the gun and now the paper had a public relations catastrophe on its hands.

"I have never known, since the Sun reached its position of power and influence, it be so lacking in confidence in what it's doing than this week," said one spin doctor.

There are many Sun hacks who still maintain the "gay mafia" story was legitimate. "If you go outside the M25 a lot of people have serious concerns about gays," said one. But the climbdown later in the week alarmed even the most hardened of Sun repor-

ters. Who had inspired it? Downing Street insists it was not them, despite Mr Yelland's admission yesterday that the Prime Minister's press secretary, Alastair Campbell, had "gone nuts" at him twice this week. With lobby journalists, Mr Campbell carefully resisted temptation to retaliate; he did not want a public fight which would only prolong the publicity about Mr Brown.

Downing Street accepts that the News of the World, which broke the Nick Brown story last Sunday, handled it in a much more downbeat way than previous "scandals". It



The break-up of Murdoch's marriage and new relationship may have made him more sensitive to privacy issues

had refused to name or pay the former lover who had contacted the paper.

"The only way the media could take the story on was about us having a row with somebody," says a Government insider. "It's not about us trying to be nice to Rupert Murdoch. If we were asked if there was a gay mafia we would have said no, but it's not our job to comment on how the media handle stories."

The lukewarm response from Mr Campbell inspired another ludicrous front page headline on Tuesday: "Blair Backs The Sun Over Gays", accompanied by an unflattering captioned picture of Mr Brown — "Gay minister Nick Brown does his best to keep a straight face yesterday while wearing a hairnet on a trip to a dairy farm."

Downing Street was angry then. But the coverage was still better than the headline Mr Campbell feared — which was "Blair slaps down Prescott", after the criticism of the Nick Brown story by the Deputy Prime Minister. Mr Campbell got wind of the idea and, according to Wapping sources, spoke to the Sun's editor on Monday evening.

Mr Yelland's U-turn on the gay mafia story, announced

in a rather panicky press release on Tuesday evening, accompanied the decision to drop gay columnist Matthew Parris — the man who "outed" Mr Mandelson on BBC's *Newsnight* programme.

Mr Mandelson will eventually rule on the bid by Rupert Murdoch, News International's chief, to buy Manchester United. Conspiracy? The Sun has a curious relationship with the Trade Secretary, a mixture of flattery and veiled threats, in big stories about News Corp. all roads tend to lead to the top, and this is no exception. Mr Murdoch, one Wapping insider told a critic "shares your concern".

The break-up of Mr Murdoch's marriage and new relationship with 31-year-old employee Wendy Dang may have made him more sensitive to privacy issues. Maybe. His daughter Elisabeth — who is a friend of Mr Mandelson — is thought to have complained, with other senior News International executives, the Sun's deputy editor, Rebekah Wade, is alleged to have protested even before Monday's paper appeared.

Mr Yelland himself, by Monday night, seemed to have realised the editorial had gone too far.

I still say Friday 13 was an unfortunate choice for a wedding. Particularly a Corkhill wedding, which always turns into something between Puss in Boots and Pulp Fiction. Nancy Banks-Smith

Saturday page 18



Malaysian family saga puts errant son centre stage

John Gittings unravels a plot of sex and betrayal

A MALAYSIAN father denounces his son for lack of filial piety — and for wearing an earring. "Just take it off," he urges his errant offspring, "and I'll make sure you get your job back!"

The skit, in an alternative theatre production on the eve of the Anwar Ibrahim trial, delighted the audience in Kuala Lumpur. The prime minister, Mahathir Mohamad, says he nurtured Mr Anwar like a son, and claims that he only sacked him because of the allegations of sodomy and corruption on which the former deputy prime minister is now facing trial.

But no one thinks the charges would have been brought if the relationship between Dr Mahathir and Mr Anwar had not broken down.

The trial was adjourned yesterday to give a political breathing space for next week's Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation summit in Kuala Lumpur, although the shadow of the case hangs over the meeting. Bill Clinton and other foreign leaders have indicated that they will not seek the customary bilateral meeting with Dr Mahathir.

In letters from jail and statements during courtroom adjournments, Mr Anwar has made the most of his close knowledge of Dr Mahathir. His 3,000-word account — "From the halls of power to the labyrinths of incarceration" — has been posted on the Internet. He paints a picture of a prime minister who became "increasingly div-

orced from the real world" and could not tolerate criticism of his "megalomaniacal fantasies".

In blithe disregard for the sub judice rule, Dr Mahathir said on television this week that he "groomed" Mr Anwar for 15 years until he became unfit because of "this moral issue which we cannot accept in a leader of Malaysia".

Mr Anwar's lawyers failed to get Dr Mahathir summoned for contempt of court. Mr Anwar insists that he fell foul of Dr Mahathir not because of sexual impropriety

but because he insisted on discussing "corruption, abuse of power and the massing of wealth by Mahathir and his close associates for their families and cronies".

He makes serious accusations against Dr Mahathir's economic adviser, Daim Zainuddin, and claims that he was involved in the decision to sack a sexual misconduct charges.

He also believes that Dr Mahathir "never forgave him" for reducing the sum of a compensation deal in which the prime minister's son, Mirzan Mahathir, was involved.

There is no shortage of evidence for Mr Anwar's case that the prime minister has become a prisoner of his own *folie de grandeur*, allowing himself to be surrounded by yes-men and cronies.

The title of a new book about him — CEO (chief executive officer) Malaysia — reflects the sycophantic atmosphere. The author praises Dr Mahathir as "a strategic leader and motivator, creator and builder, and master strategist and planner".

Many Malaysians have mixed feelings about Mr Anwar's emergence in the foreign press as a liberal hero, especially those unhappy with the dominance of the United Malay National Organisation (Umno), in which Mr Anwar was a leading figure.

"This is a relationship which goes back a long way," one observer said. "You can't just see it as a clash between reform and reaction in the past two or three years."

Commentators look back to the early 1980s when Dr Mahathir, who had only just come to power, spotted the talents of a young student leader called Anwar Ibrahim and introduced him to Umno.

Close confidants of the prime minister also recall that Dr Mahathir saw Mr Anwar as "the new hope for a third Umno". They maintain that Mr Anwar's real crime was ingratitude and excessive ambition.

Mr Anwar's supporters say he was lured by the prospect of reforming the system from within.



The former Malaysian deputy leader Anwar Ibrahim after his trial was adjourned yesterday. Above, his wife and daughter outside court. PHOTOGRAPHS: CHAN LOOI TAT/ANDY WONG

By 1993, Dr Mahathir and his protégé were meeting daily to discuss every important national issue. Pro- and anti-Anwar sources agree that this was bound to lead to trouble in the ruling elite.

A source close to Dr Mahathir said: "Other ministers said that if Anwar succeeded, he would not last because they would challenge him."

But Mr Anwar's supporters insist that the conflict was not simply about power but also about the differences in policy between the two men.

While Dr Mahathir seemed intoxicated by his "Vision 2020" for Malaysia development, Mr Anwar was moving well beyond narrow nationalism.

Mr Anwar's collection of essays, *The Asian Renaissance*, talks of a "synthesis between East and West". Asia,

he argues, needs to "rediscover its soul and reconstruct its civilisations", but can only do so by embracing not rejecting universal values.

Mr Anwar admits that he kept silent on a number of issues to remain in power. But the deteriorating relationship could not survive Asia's economic crisis.

Last December Mr Anwar pushed through an austerity plan while Dr Mahathir favoured a financial bail-out for distressed Malaysian corporations which had close links to government. Mr Anwar had already clashed with Mr Daim and outside the courtroom, there is talk of the abuse of police power, cronyism and political plots. In a trial scheduled to run through to next summer, the Malaysian people are likely to be hearing much more.

Mr Anwar now claims that Dr Mahathir knew, and condoned, the sexual secrets of his ministers. "He had ... ever tolerated those bringing in women in private jets and bypassing immigration."

In June this year the threat became a weapon. All the participants in the Umno general assembly were given a book denouncing Anwar's alleged sex life. The case shifted from argument about policy to innuendo about "sexual perversion".

Yet after two weeks of Mr Anwar's trial, the underlying issues refuse to go away. Inside and outside the courtroom, there is talk of the abuse of police power, cronyism and political plots. In a trial scheduled to run through to next summer, the Malaysian people are likely to be hearing much more.

The old elites caught cold by economic meltdown

Comment

John Gittings

INDONESIA and Malaysia, two east Asian countries praised not so long ago for their stable political regimes, are now both plunged into deep uncertainty. Yesterday the moderate Indonesian Islamic leader Amien Rais warned that a military junta could be on the horizon if reform efforts failed.

"There may be certain hands who may take over power," he said, "and it would not be impossible that we could then live under emergency rule."

In Kuala Lumpur, Anwar Ibrahim, fighting to clear his name in court, has accused the prime minister, Mahathir Mohamad, of seeking to create a climate of fear. He warns that after next week's Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation meeting, Dr Mahathir's supporters may begin calling for a state of emergency.

It is hard to recall the complacency with which the Asian economic miracle was believed, until little more than a year ago, to guarantee stability in countries whose political structures were out-dated or defective.

Only last March, when President Suharto insisted on running unopposed for his seventh five-year term of office in Indonesia, not a single Western government even breathed a quiet word that this might be less than a good idea.

The indulgence which Mr Suharto enjoyed was based on his success in overthrowing President Sukarno in the 1960s and purging the left at a time when Washington's greatest fear was that Indonesia would be "captured by communism".

The price which Indonesia paid is only now being realised. The students' demand this week for an investigation into Mr Suharto's 32-year rule is a reflection of the absence of normal political discourse in the shadow of this murky past.

The Anwar affair has also challenged an established political way of life. The questions it has raised include the misuse of the police and the judicial system, cronyism, and the way that symbols of nationalism have become a substitute for coherent policy.

Political and military elites have their own rationalisation for continuing to exercise undue power and influence. The Indonesian armed forces have always justified their dominance in terms of preventing "a return to the 1960s" (when a feeble communist coup attempt gave Mr Suharto the pretext he needed).

Dr Mahathir denies there are "cronies" who benefit from government support. He says they are businessmen who were "assisted and given the opportunity [by government] as they had proven their ability". If they were not helped out, then less capable people might take their place.

The liberal view that economic well-being makes societies more politically aware has been stood on its head. It is economic setback, not advance, which has led here to political challenge and conflict.

Two years ago the World Bank's verdict as expressed in its 1995 annual report still prevailed: "The fast-growing east Asian economies have been exemplars of relatively equitable and rapid poverty reduction."

What it overlooked was that poverty reduction goes rapidly into reverse when economies stop growing. The speed with which almost half the Indonesian population has sunk below the poverty line is as great as a cataclysm as any typhoon or earthquake.

It is no accident that east Asian countries where political transition is under way or complete, such as Thailand, Taiwan or South Korea, have been less traumatised by the economic collapse.

The biggest exception is China, where the ruling elite survives and the economy, while weakened, has not collapsed. But events in Jakarta and Kuala Lumpur ought to provoke some sober thought in Beijing.

Chicago has gunmakers in its sights

Julian Borger in Washington

THE urban backlash against the United States gun lobby gained dramatic momentum yesterday when the city of Chicago sued 22 firearms manufacturers and distributors for saturating the local market with weapons in the knowledge that they would fall into the hands of criminals.

The lawsuit, coming a fortnight after New Orleans's decision to sue gunmakers for police and hospital costs, repre-



'We're breaking new ground — we hope it becomes a test case'

Mayor Richard Daley

sents a rapidly growing anti-gun movement in crime-ridden cities, inspired by a similar legal challenge by several states to the tobacco industry.

Philadelphia, Los Angeles and San Francisco are expected to follow Chicago's lead in the next few months, opening a broad municipal front in the long-running struggle to reform US gun law. Until recently the industry has been able to fend off legal assaults with the argument "guns don't kill people — people do".

That position is now being comprehensively challenged. New Orleans argued that the gun industry was liable for its "unreasonably dangerous" products because it had not installed safety devices which allow guns to be fired only by their owners.

The mayor of Chicago, Richard Daley, told a press conference yesterday: "We're breaking new legal ground with this lawsuit and we hope it becomes a national test case."

The mayor was speaking in Washington, where he called on Congress to create a national gun database and to pass federal legislation requiring all guns sales to be reported to the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms within one week. Currently only purchases of several guns from the same shop at the same time have to be reported.

The Chicago police, who have confiscated 178,000 illegally held guns in the past 10 years, say the black market has continually been replenished and enlarged. In a recent sting operation police officers posing as street dealers, Heri Angles and militia members managed to buy 171 guns from suburban shops without presenting state gun permits.

The gun lobby denies liability. Georgia Nichols, president of the American Shooting Sports Council, said: "Most manufacturers sell their guns legally to distributors who in turn sell the dealers, so there is no clear-cut chain."

The tobacco industry unsuccessfully made a similar case for the defence, arguing that product liability lay with cigarette shops not the factories.

Lawrence Tribe, a Harvard professor who helped prepare the legal cases brought against the cigarette firms by Mississippi, Florida and Texas, said their arguments were defeated by proof that tobacco caused harm to the community in aggregate, so that the degree of responsibility could be calculated by market share.

Bidders fight for painting by graffiti art's pin-up boy

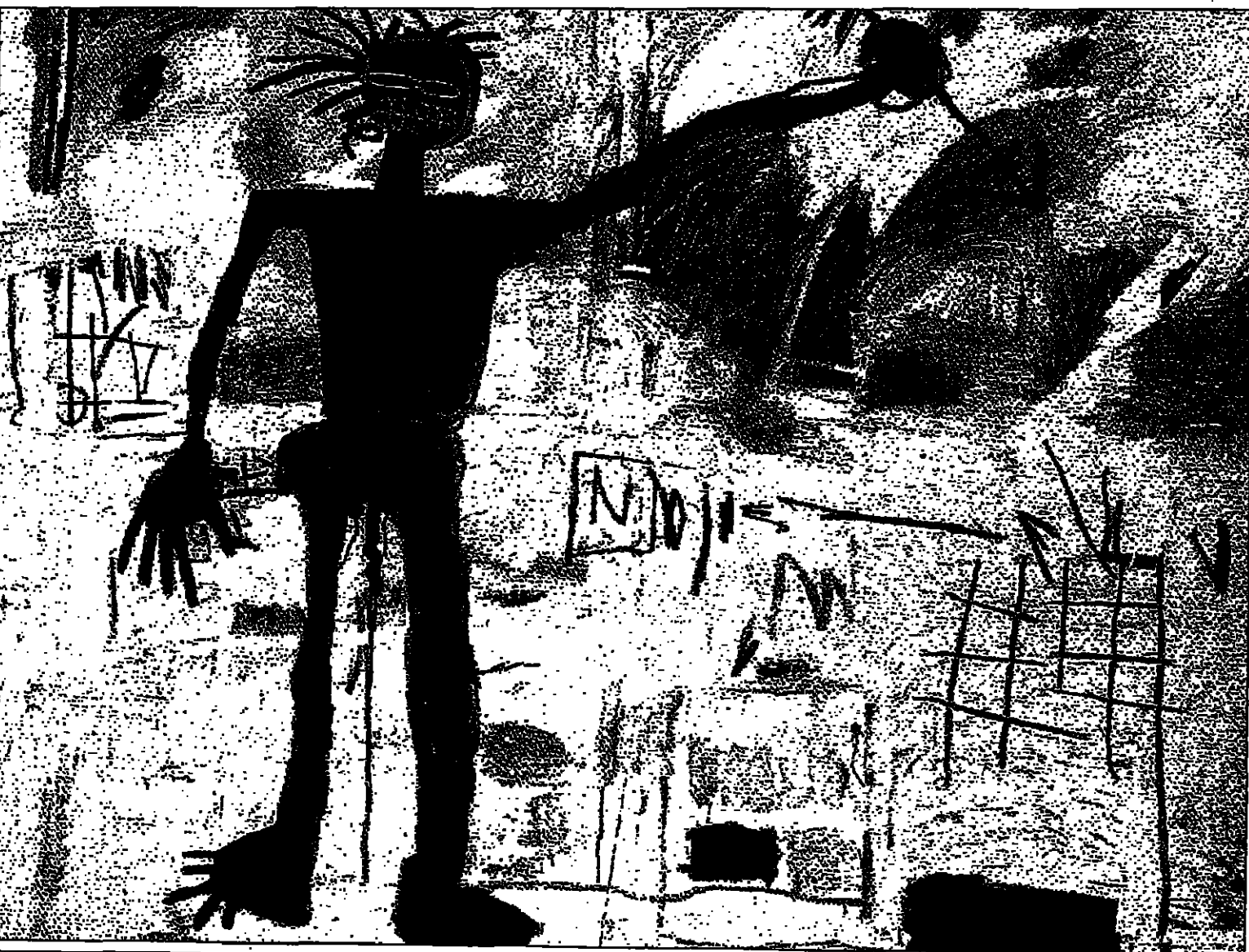
Michael Ellison in New York

A SELF-PORTRAIT by Jean-Michel Basquiat, darling of the 1980s graffiti art movement, sold for a record \$2.3 million (almost \$2 million) yesterday, 10 years after his death at 27. The price, more than five times the estimated \$500,000, gave weight to the observation of the Australian art critic Robert Hughes: "The only thing the market liked better than a hot young artist was a dead hot young artist."

Five bidders fought for the 1982 painting (pictured right) at a Christie's sale in New York. It went to an anonymous collector.

Tony Shafrazi, a SoHo dealer, said: "Obviously the market is changing. Basquiat was a speculator, now he's a front runner."

That was the view of the author of the catalogue for a posthumous Basquiat exhibition who wrote: "Since slavery and oppression under white supremacy are visible subtexts in Basquiat's works he is as close to Goya as American painting has ever produced."



Zimbabwe troops desert in protest at Congo war

Andrew Meldrum in Harare

OPPPOSITION to Zimbabwe's part in the Congo war has grown to such an extent that soldiers are deserting the army.

More than 50, including some officers, have refused to go to Congo and have been arrested, according to military sources. Several are suing the government, arguing that involvement in the war is not constitutional and therefore invalidates their contracts of service.

Scores of soldiers have deserted in Zimbabwe, forcing military police to search remote areas. To bolster enthusiasm for the war, the army is reportedly promising officers £180 a day for duty in Congo.

Robert Mugabe's government has not revealed how many soldiers are fighting in Congo, but it is estimated that 11,000 Zimbabwean troops are in the country with numerous aircraft and heavy weapons. Deaths are estimated to be in the hundreds, but the government has only admitted seven.

The forces are fighting in unfamiliar jungle in the rainy season. Hundreds of soldiers have been afflicted by malaria.

Revelations in Zimbabwe's independent press of lucrative deals between President Mugabe's inner circle and Laurent Kabila's Congolese government have increased popular disgust with the war. But there are signs that President Kabila's government has merely bought Zimbabwean goods on credit.

So strong is the anti-war sentiment that many believe

an extended involvement in the conflict will lead to the downfall of President Mugabe's government.

"The war is the last straw," said Morgan Tsvangirai, secretary-general of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, which led an anti-government national strike on Wednesday.

"Inflation is sky high, the economy is a mess, and now this war. People question why we are in the war, when we have so many pressing problems here. We cannot afford this."

Anti-war sentiment has become a rallying point for Zimbabwe's opposition. "This war is Zimbabwe's Vietnam," said Margaret Dongo, an independent MP. "Our country is being dragged in deeper and deeper. And the cost is high: it is ruining our economy and killing our boys."

Mrs Dongo is preparing to launch a political party to challenge Mr Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). Opposition to the war will be high on its agenda. "Parliament was never con-

sulted about this war," she said. "Even Zanu-PF MPs admit that the people do not want this war." Half of Mr Mugabe's 54 cabinet members have condemned the Congo conflict.

Mr Mugabe does not appear to register the criticism. Last week he said Zimbabwe was in Congo to assure peace and to improve health and education there. His statement provoked outrage among Zimbabweans, who have seen their own health and education services decline considerably under his government.

Turkey h
arrest of
rebel chi

watchdog b
£3bn fraud



OP PER MINUT
JUST A SWIF
0800 769 0044

سكزا من الامم

Turkey hails Dordogne dishes out cookbook awards ... but few of them go to the French

Chris Morris in Ankara

TURKEY last night hailed the arrest in Rome of the leader of the PKK Kurdish rebel group, Abdullah Ocalan. The prime minister, Mesut Yilmaz, said his government had begun extradition proceedings for its most wanted man, but Kurdish political sources said Mr Ocalan was applying for political asylum in Italy.

Turkish and Italian officials revealed yesterday that Mr Ocalan was detained on Thursday night after arriving in Rome on a flight from Moscow.

He was identified during a routine check by immigration officials who realised his Turkish passport was forged.

Mr Ocalan, who was apparently travelling alone, is being held in a military hospital.

He has been on Interpol's wanted list for many years, and his arrest could be a big blow to the rebel movement.

"The PKK has lost its leader," Mr Yilmaz said. "He will no longer be able to control their murderous activities."

A lot depends on the attitude of the Italian judiciary. An extradition could be complicated by the fact that Mr Ocalan would face the death penalty in Turkey.

Italy must make a difficult and politically charged decision. If it were to grant asylum, Turkey would react with fury.

Ankara has already asked the United States for its support, although Italy has emphasised that the matter is in

the hands of the courts. The arrest comes at the end of a turbulent few weeks for the PKK leader. Last month he was forced to flee his base in Syria by Turkish military threats against Damascus.

Diplomatic sources say he was smuggled out to Russia through Greece and Armenia. Moscow has promised Turkey that he will never be allowed to return to Russian soil.

Since 1984 Mr Ocalan has led a violent campaign in south-eastern Turkey aimed initially at establishing an independent Kurdish state.

More than 30,000 people have been killed in a war fought with extreme brutality on both sides. Hundreds of thousands of civilians have been displaced, many of them in the army's forced evacuation of villages.

In recent years Mr Ocalan has modified his demands. He now says he would be prepared to accept a political solution within Turkey's borders if Kurds were granted greater recognition of their cultural identity.

But Turkey has always refused to consider contact with a man it regards as a ruthless terrorist.

The Turkish army believes it has significantly weakened the PKK, even though many analysts describe the conflict as an unwinnable war.

Mr Ocalan is a hate figure to most Turks, but he remains a hero to his Kurdish supporters in Turkey and abroad.

News of his arrest was greeted with astonishment in Ankara, where a crisis involving links between PKK fighters and organised crime is threatening to bring down the government within days.



The cookbook bonanza shared by celebrity chefs such as Italy's Sophia Loren is eluding the French. PHOTOGRAPH BY ART SETZ

Paul Webster in Périgueux

PETER SELLARS, who pleaded with Sophia Loren to give him a dash of the bangers and mash he turned in his grave, must be turning in his grave. The Italian actress, with whom Sellars sang that long-ago song, today receives a prize for the "world's best cookbook."

Loren, aged 64, is to fly in to boost publicity for the World Cookbook Fair in this Dordogne city by accepting the award for Recipes and Memories. The volume is full of the tagliatelle, risotto, bucatini, linguine and spezzatino that the British comedy actor was forced to eat after supposedly marrying an Italian war bride.

The Neapolitan actress, who recently recovered from a heart attack, and her fellow film star Paul Newman are now the best known celebrity cooks in the business. Her sales have reached 500,000.

France, which styles itself the world's gastronomic leader, trails badly in the home recipes war, while North America, Britain and Australia — champions of cheap, fast recipes — have astronomical sales of gourmet books.

Périgueux, the foie gras and truffle capital of the Dordogne, is staging the World Cookbook Fair this weekend in the hope of breaking the Anglo-Saxon grip on a literary goldmine that produces sales of about 20 million a year in the United States alone.

Périgueux residents claim a 16,000-year advantage because bison-based pictorial recipes have been discovered among the prehistoric paintings in the nearby Lascaux caves.

Most of the 57 prizes to be awarded today go to foreigners, the majority for books prepared by in-house teams or one-off productions by little-known authors.

The French food critic Edouard Cointreau gave an overview of an industry that has its own glossy magazine

dedicated entirely to reviewing recipe books. The International Cookbook Review, published in Spain, reviews about 5,000 food manuals a year, less than a third of the annual international output.

"Authors who might have turned to fiction realise they can live better from cookbooks, especially with 2,000 firms publishing nothing but illustrated recipes and food guides," Mr Cointreau said.

"In the US, a third of the output is linked to raising money for voluntary organisations, especially Little League baseball. The Houston team has sold 600,000 copies of its food guide."

New York taxi drivers and intelligence agencies have produced books with sales big enough to make Della Smith and many other British writers pale. The French are well out of the race.

Although there has been an 80 per cent increase in production in the past four years, there are still only about 500 food and wine books published in France each year. The output is led by heavy-weight, photograph-free works.

Research shows that 90 per cent of recipe books published in the Anglo-Saxon world are for looking rather than cooking," Mr Cointreau said. "Fifty per cent are read only in bed."

Only one star of television cookery in Britain, Ken Hom, is getting a prize. His *Easy Family Dishes*, published by the BBC, was praised for promoting Asian cuisine in the West.

He is already a local hero, living on a castle in south-western France where he hunts truffles with a pig.

But for the true recipe book enthusiast, wok cookery comes second to the classics. At a Welsh-run second-hand stall, *Cooking the Books*, Brian Cashman said that original, decades-old books by Elizabeth David were snapped up while used Ken Hom volumes went stale.

EU watchdog barks at £3bn fraud

Stephen Bates in Brussels

THE European Union's financial watchdog will refuse to approve its accounts next week because of irregularities and missing money amounting to more than £3 billion — 5 per cent of the EU's £60 billion budget.

The annual report of the Court of Auditors, to be presented to the European Parliament in Strasbourg on Tuesday — a copy of which has been seen by the Guardian — blames fraudulent grant claims and inadequate accounting in member states and the EU for the losses.

The incidence of errors affecting transactions is still too high for the court to provide assurance about their legality and regularity, the report says.

Its publication follows recent revelations that £600 million-worth of humanitarian aid to developing countries in the early 1990s

could not be accounted for, and the commission's sudden discovery earlier this year that £300 million of grants for aid and social projects could not be allocated because they had not been legally approved.

The report, the fourth to be published by the EU's financial watchdog, shows little change from previous years' grim picture of money being misused, requested from the Common Agricultural Policy and regional funds by farmers, businesses and training bodies, and disbursed with little grip on whether the expenditure is legal or justified.

Every year the commission claims that it is tightening its accounting procedures and blames the 15 member states — responsible for administering 80 per cent of the budget — for not keeping track of spending. The report says more than 3 per cent of the budget to improve regional infrastructure went astray last year.

Forget hunger strikes, hire spin doctors

James Meek in Moscow on the increasingly sophisticated battle between post-Soviet leaders for Western approval

WHEN Akhmet Kazhegeldin, an opposition politician, was named by one of the growing number of authoritarian regimes in the former Soviet Union, he didn't go about it the old-fashioned way.

He didn't go on hunger strike. He didn't march on the presidential palace at the head of thousands of angry students. He didn't

wait for Amnesty International to take up his case. He hired Hill & Knowlton, the United States firm that boasts it invented public relations.

Mr Kazhegeldin, the economically liberal former prime minister of the vast, oil-rich Central Asian state, has certainly fallen foul of Kazakhstan's increasingly authoritarian ruler Nursultan Nazarbayev, who is bending the law to ensure he stays in power until at least 2006.

But Mr Kazhegeldin's decision to hire expensive Western PR skills shows the degree to which the West's view of the coming generation of post-Soviet leaders is being shaped by its own suits of spin.

"The global village stuff is coming true," said Charles McLean, a former NBC correspondent now handling Mr Kazhegeldin's account at Hill & Knowlton's Washington office.

"I think, increasingly, political figures around the world realise that it does

matter how they're perceived in foreign capitals. So they come to people like us and say: 'Look, nobody in Washington knows who I am or what I stand for — what do you think?'"

Hill & Knowlton, which says it represents one other client like Mr Kazhegeldin and a number of foreign governments, has delivered the goods for the wealthy Kazakh dissident editorials in the New York Times and the Washington Post denouncing Mr Nazarbayev.

They may not be enough. Mr Nazarbayev is not only friendly to the US and overwhelmingly in control of the media in Kazakhstan;

he, too, has hired a Washington PR company to lobby his case.

Other post-Soviet players who have employed Western PR agencies to promote their stance abroad include the Moscow mayor, Yuri Luzhkov, a favourite to succeed Boris Yeltsin as Russian president; the controversial Russian tycoon Boris Berezovsky; and the former Ukraine prime minister Pavel Lazarenko.

It often seems that the struggle between the two main Russian presidential favourites, Mr Luzhkov and the retired general Alexander Lebed, is being waged abroad as the two

men strive to convince the West that they are the runners to back in 2000.

It is not known whether Gen Lebed employs Western PR firms. He could not afford to on his salary as governor of Krasnoyarsk region. But he has rich and powerful backers, including Mr Berezovsky.

Washington insiders believe that his rise to the US this year and in 1996, when he chaired with the George Bushes senior and junior, Henry Kissinger, Colin Powell and a host of other movers and shakers, could not have been handled without the involvement of American PR professionals.

AT 9P PER MINUTE, HE'S JUST A SWIFTCALL AWAY.

America has never been nearer with Swiftcall. The international phone call specialists. Our rates are so low you can make amazing savings to thousands of destinations. You don't have to alter your existing phone line to set it up and our pre-paid accounts enable you to control exactly how much you spend.

Free call 0800 769 0044 now.

For low cost international calls make it a SWIFTCALL.

All prices include VAT and are correct as of 11.98.

News in brief

Germany to deport boy

A MUNICH boy aged 14, born and raised in Germany by Turkish parents, is to be taken from them and deported to Turkey today after Germany's supreme court ruled yesterday against renewing his residence permit, writes *Tan Tjapoy in Bonn*.

The boy, known only as Mehmet, has a criminal record of more than 60 offences. Bavarian officials were unable to deport him until he turned 14. Officials tried to deport the entire family, but a Munich court ruled that the parents, with no criminal records and legally resident in Germany for 30 years, could not be forced to leave.

The failure of the boy's appeal to the constitutional court sparked protests from civil rights activists and the new government of Social Democrats and Greens.

If deported today, Mehmet will live with relatives in Turkey.

Dinar break for Bosnia

BOSNIAN Serb nationalists called on the government to resign yesterday after blaming it for the loss of financial links with Yugoslavia.

Belgrade stopped the flow of Yugoslav dinars in and out of the Bosnian Serb republic after the government there effectively devalued the currency by introducing a unofficial exchange rate.

The Serb nationalist party said the country relied 90 per cent on trade with Yugoslavia. It predicted that many firms would go bankrupt and said there would be shortages of consumer goods.

Some economists in Belgrade criticised the move yes-

Costly words for editor

THE Académie Française, guardian of the French language, has stripped an Egyptian editor of a literary prize after comments about the Holocaust.

Mohammed Salmawi, editor-in-chief of al-Ahram Hebdo, the French-language weekly edition of the newspaper al-Ahram, wrote an editorial defending Roger Garaudy, the controversial French political philosopher who was fined two years ago for contesting the Holocaust.

His 1996 book *The Founding Myths of the State of Israel* minimised the number of Jews killed by the Nazis during the war and denounced this "Shoah business".

The academy, which acted after complaints from French Jewish groups, said the prize had been intended for the newspaper.

"It was a tempest in a tea cup," said an academy spokesman, Laurent Personne.

— AP, Paris.

UN mission set to quit

A SECOND United Nations mission is about to pull out of the Arab world days after the UN Security Council agreed to station a new force in the region.

Staff at Muna — the UN operation preparing for a referendum on the future of the Moroccan-occupied Western Sahara — said yesterday that they were packing their bags after seven years trying to reach an agreement between the parties. — Nick Pezzani, Casablanca.

HEAD OFFSHORE FOR INTEREST PAID GROSS

Our new Offshore 90 Account is based in Guernsey, which means we can pay interest gross without deducting tax.

Which is good news if you're an expatriate, foreign national or, indeed, a UK resident who wants to take advantage of tax planning.

You get the choice of your interest paid monthly or annually.

You can make penalty free withdrawals by giving us 90 days notice. Or you can gain access immediately with 90 days loss of interest on the amount you withdraw.

Invest right away with £10,000 or more.

For full details and your application form, you can call the number below at any time and leave a message.

Or complete and return the coupon.

Please note, applications can only be made by post. **01481 718 121**

Northrock (Guernsey) Limited, PO Box 321, St. Peter Port, Guernsey, Channel Islands GY1 8EQ. Fax: 01481 712 710

OFFSHORE 90 ACCOUNT				
UP TO 8.20% GROSS PA.				
RATES EFFECTIVE UNTIL 23.1.99				
AMOUNT INVESTED	ANNUAL INTEREST % GROSS	MONTHLY INTEREST % GROSS	MONTHLY INTEREST PAID	MONTHLY INTEREST PAID
£250,000+	8.20	7.91	8.20	8.20
£100,000+	8.15	7.86	8.15	8.15
£50,000+	8.10	7.81	8.10	8.10
£25,000+	8.00	7.72	8.00	8.00
£10,000+	7.90	7.63	7.90	7.90

RATES EFFECTIVE FROM 24.1.99				
AMOUNT INVESTED	ANNUAL INTEREST % GROSS	MONTHLY INTEREST % GROSS	MONTHLY INTEREST PAID	MONTHLY INTEREST PAID
£250,000+	8.00	7.72	8.00	8.00
£100,000+	7.95	7.67	7.95	7.95
£50,000+	7.90	7.62	7.90	7.90
£25,000+	7.80	7.53	7.80	7.80
£10,000+	7.70	7.44	7.70	7.70

RATES INCLUDE AN INTRODUCTORY INTEREST BONUS OF 0.25% UNTIL 1.3.99

1 You are recommended to declare the interest earned in your tax authority. 2 Compounded Annual Rate in the above table is based on 12 months of interest. 3 Interest is paid monthly. 4 Interest is paid monthly. 5 Interest is paid monthly. 6 Interest is paid monthly. 7 Interest is paid monthly. 8 Interest is paid monthly. 9 Interest is paid monthly. 10 Interest is paid monthly. 11 Interest is paid monthly. 12 Interest is paid monthly. 13 Interest is paid monthly. 14 Interest is paid monthly. 15 Interest is paid monthly. 16 Interest is paid monthly. 17 Interest is paid monthly. 18 Interest is paid monthly. 19 Interest is paid monthly. 20 Interest is paid monthly. 21 Interest is paid monthly. 22 Interest is paid monthly. 23 Interest is paid monthly. 24 Interest is paid monthly. 25 Interest is paid monthly. 26 Interest is paid monthly. 27 Interest is paid monthly. 28 Interest is paid monthly. 29 Interest is paid monthly. 30 Interest is paid monthly. 31 Interest is paid monthly. 32 Interest is paid monthly. 33 Interest is paid monthly. 34 Interest is paid monthly. 35 Interest is paid monthly. 36 Interest is paid monthly. 37 Interest is paid monthly. 38 Interest is paid monthly. 39 Interest is paid monthly. 40 Interest is paid monthly. 41 Interest is paid monthly. 42 Interest is paid monthly. 43 Interest is paid monthly. 44 Interest is paid monthly. 45 Interest is paid monthly. 46 Interest is paid monthly. 47 Interest is paid monthly. 48 Interest is paid monthly. 49 Interest is paid monthly. 50 Interest is paid monthly. 51 Interest is paid monthly. 52 Interest is paid monthly. 53 Interest is paid monthly. 54 Interest is paid monthly. 55 Interest is paid monthly. 56 Interest is paid monthly. 57 Interest is paid monthly. 58 Interest is paid monthly. 59 Interest is paid monthly. 60 Interest is paid monthly. 61 Interest is paid monthly. 62 Interest is paid monthly. 63 Interest is paid monthly. 64 Interest is paid monthly. 65 Interest is paid monthly. 66 Interest is paid monthly. 67 Interest is paid monthly. 68 Interest is paid monthly. 69 Interest is paid monthly. 70 Interest is paid monthly. 71 Interest is paid monthly. 72 Interest is paid monthly. 73 Interest is paid monthly. 74 Interest is paid monthly. 75 Interest is paid monthly. 76 Interest is paid monthly. 77 Interest is paid monthly. 78 Interest is paid monthly. 79 Interest is paid monthly. 80 Interest is paid monthly. 81 Interest is paid monthly. 82 Interest is paid monthly. 83 Interest is paid monthly. 84 Interest is paid monthly. 85 Interest is paid monthly. 86 Interest is paid monthly. 87 Interest is paid monthly. 88 Interest is paid monthly. 89 Interest is paid monthly. 90 Interest is paid monthly. 91 Interest is paid monthly. 92 Interest is paid monthly. 93 Interest is paid monthly. 94 Interest is paid monthly. 95 Interest is paid monthly. 96 Interest is paid monthly. 97 Interest is paid monthly. 98 Interest is paid monthly. 99 Interest is paid monthly. 100 Interest is paid monthly. 101 Interest is paid monthly. 102 Interest is paid monthly. 103 Interest is paid monthly. 104 Interest is paid monthly. 105 Interest is paid monthly. 106 Interest is paid monthly. 107 Interest is paid monthly. 108 Interest is paid monthly. 109 Interest is paid monthly. 110 Interest is paid monthly. 111 Interest is paid monthly. 112 Interest is paid monthly. 113 Interest is paid monthly. 114 Interest is paid monthly. 115 Interest is paid monthly. 116 Interest is paid monthly. 117 Interest is paid monthly. 118 Interest is paid monthly. 119 Interest is paid monthly. 120 Interest is paid monthly. 121 Interest is paid monthly. 122 Interest is paid monthly. 123 Interest is paid monthly. 124 Interest is paid monthly. 125 Interest is paid monthly. 126 Interest is paid monthly. 127 Interest is paid monthly. 128 Interest is paid monthly. 129 Interest is paid monthly. 130 Interest is paid monthly. 131 Interest is paid monthly. 132 Interest is paid monthly. 133 Interest is paid monthly. 134 Interest is paid monthly. 135 Interest is paid monthly. 136 Interest is paid monthly. 137 Interest is paid monthly. 138 Interest is paid monthly. 139 Interest is paid monthly. 140 Interest is paid monthly. 141 Interest is paid monthly. 142 Interest is paid monthly. 143 Interest is paid monthly. 144 Interest is paid monthly. 145 Interest is paid monthly. 146 Interest is paid monthly. 147 Interest is paid monthly. 148 Interest is paid monthly. 149 Interest is paid monthly. 150 Interest is paid monthly. 151 Interest is paid monthly. 152 Interest is paid monthly. 153 Interest is paid monthly. 154 Interest is paid monthly. 155 Interest is paid monthly. 156 Interest is paid monthly. 157 Interest is paid monthly. 158 Interest is paid monthly. 159 Interest is paid monthly. 160 Interest is paid monthly. 161 Interest is paid monthly. 162 Interest is paid monthly. 163 Interest is paid monthly. 164 Interest is paid monthly. 165 Interest is paid monthly. 166 Interest is paid monthly. 167 Interest is paid monthly. 168 Interest is paid monthly. 169 Interest is paid monthly. 170 Interest is paid monthly. 171 Interest is paid monthly. 172 Interest is paid monthly. 173 Interest is paid monthly. 174 Interest is paid monthly. 175 Interest is paid monthly. 176 Interest is paid monthly. 177 Interest is paid monthly. 178 Interest is paid monthly. 179 Interest is paid monthly. 180 Interest is paid monthly. 181 Interest is paid monthly. 182 Interest is paid monthly. 183 Interest is paid monthly. 184 Interest is paid monthly. 185 Interest is paid monthly. 186 Interest is paid monthly. 187 Interest is paid monthly. 188 Interest is paid monthly. 189 Interest is paid monthly. 190 Interest is paid monthly. 191 Interest is paid monthly. 192 Interest is paid monthly. 193 Interest is paid monthly. 194 Interest is paid monthly. 195 Interest is paid monthly. 196 Interest is paid monthly. 197 Interest is paid monthly. 198 Interest is paid monthly. 199 Interest is paid monthly. 200 Interest is paid monthly. 201 Interest is paid monthly. 202 Interest is paid monthly. 203 Interest is paid monthly. 204 Interest is paid monthly. 205 Interest is paid monthly. 206 Interest is paid monthly. 207 Interest is paid monthly. 208 Interest is paid monthly. 209 Interest is paid monthly. 210 Interest is paid monthly. 211 Interest is paid monthly. 212 Interest is paid monthly. 213 Interest is paid monthly. 214 Interest is paid monthly. 215 Interest is paid monthly. 216 Interest is paid monthly. 217 Interest is paid monthly. 218 Interest is paid monthly. 219 Interest is paid monthly. 220 Interest is paid monthly. 221 Interest is paid monthly. 222 Interest is paid monthly. 223 Interest is paid monthly. 224 Interest is paid monthly. 225 Interest is paid monthly. 226 Interest is paid monthly. 227 Interest is paid monthly. 228 Interest is paid monthly. 229 Interest is paid monthly. 230 Interest is paid monthly. 231 Interest is paid monthly. 232 Interest is paid monthly. 233 Interest is paid monthly. 234 Interest is paid monthly. 235 Interest is paid monthly. 236 Interest is paid monthly. 237 Interest is paid monthly. 238 Interest is paid monthly. 239 Interest is paid monthly. 240 Interest is paid monthly. 241 Interest is paid monthly. 242 Interest is paid monthly. 243 Interest is paid monthly. 244 Interest is paid monthly. 245 Interest is paid monthly. 246 Interest is paid monthly. 247 Interest is paid monthly. 248 Interest is paid monthly. 249 Interest is paid monthly. 250 Interest is paid monthly. 251 Interest is paid monthly. 252 Interest is paid monthly. 253 Interest is paid monthly. 254 Interest is paid monthly. 255 Interest is paid monthly. 256 Interest is paid monthly. 257 Interest is paid monthly. 258 Interest is paid monthly. 259 Interest is paid monthly. 260 Interest is paid monthly. 261 Interest is paid monthly. 262 Interest is paid monthly. 263 Interest is paid monthly. 264 Interest is paid monthly. 265 Interest is paid monthly. 266 Interest is paid monthly. 267 Interest is paid monthly. 268 Interest is paid monthly. 269 Interest is paid monthly. 270 Interest is paid monthly. 271 Interest is paid monthly. 272 Interest is paid monthly. 273 Interest is paid monthly. 274 Interest is paid monthly. 275 Interest is paid monthly. 276 Interest is paid monthly. 277 Interest is paid monthly. 278 Interest is paid monthly. 279 Interest is paid monthly. 280 Interest is paid monthly. 281 Interest is paid monthly. 282 Interest is paid monthly. 283 Interest is paid monthly. 284 Interest is paid monthly. 285 Interest is paid monthly. 286 Interest is paid monthly. 287 Interest is paid monthly. 288 Interest is paid monthly. 289 Interest is paid monthly. 290 Interest is paid monthly. 291 Interest is paid monthly. 292 Interest is paid monthly. 293 Interest is paid monthly. 294 Interest is paid monthly. 295 Interest is paid monthly. 296 Interest is paid monthly. 297 Interest is paid monthly. 298 Interest is paid monthly. 299 Interest is paid monthly. 300 Interest is paid monthly. 301 Interest is paid monthly. 302 Interest is paid monthly. 303 Interest is paid monthly. 304 Interest is paid monthly. 305 Interest is paid monthly. 306 Interest is paid monthly. 307 Interest is paid monthly. 308 Interest is paid monthly. 309 Interest is paid monthly. 310 Interest is paid monthly. 311 Interest is paid monthly. 312 Interest is paid monthly. 313 Interest is paid monthly. 314 Interest is paid monthly. 315 Interest is paid monthly. 316 Interest is paid monthly. 317 Interest is paid monthly. 318 Interest is paid monthly. 319 Interest is paid monthly. 320 Interest is paid monthly. 321 Interest is paid monthly. 322 Interest is paid monthly. 323 Interest is paid monthly. 324 Interest is paid monthly. 325 Interest is paid monthly. 326 Interest is paid monthly. 327 Interest is paid monthly. 328 Interest is paid monthly. 329 Interest is paid monthly. 330 Interest is paid monthly. 331 Interest is paid monthly. 332 Interest is paid monthly. 333 Interest is paid monthly. 334 Interest is paid monthly. 335 Interest is paid monthly. 336 Interest is paid monthly. 337 Interest is paid monthly. 338 Interest is paid monthly. 339 Interest is paid monthly. 340 Interest is paid monthly. 341 Interest is paid monthly. 342 Interest is paid monthly. 343 Interest is paid monthly. 344 Interest is paid monthly. 345 Interest is paid monthly. 346 Interest is paid monthly. 347 Interest is paid monthly. 348 Interest is paid monthly. 349 Interest is paid monthly. 350 Interest is paid monthly. 351 Interest is paid monthly. 352 Interest is paid monthly. 353 Interest is paid monthly. 354 Interest is paid monthly. 355 Interest is paid monthly. 356 Interest is paid monthly. 357 Interest is paid monthly. 358 Interest is paid monthly. 359 Interest is paid monthly. 360 Interest is paid monthly. 361 Interest is paid monthly. 362 Interest is paid monthly. 363 Interest is paid monthly. 364 Interest is paid monthly. 365 Interest is paid monthly. 366 Interest is paid monthly. 367 Interest is paid monthly. 368 Interest is paid monthly. 369 Interest is paid monthly. 370 Interest is paid monthly. 371 Interest is paid monthly. 372 Interest is paid monthly. 373 Interest is paid monthly. 374 Interest is paid monthly. 375 Interest is paid monthly. 376 Interest is paid monthly. 377 Interest is paid monthly. 378 Interest is paid monthly. 379 Interest is paid monthly. 380 Interest is paid monthly. 381 Interest is paid monthly. 382 Interest is paid monthly. 383 Interest is paid monthly. 384 Interest is paid monthly. 385 Interest is paid monthly. 386 Interest is paid monthly. 387 Interest is paid monthly. 388 Interest is paid monthly. 389 Interest is paid monthly. 390 Interest is paid monthly. 391 Interest is paid monthly. 392 Interest is paid monthly. 393 Interest is paid monthly. 394 Interest is paid monthly. 395 Interest is paid monthly. 396 Interest is paid monthly. 397 Interest is paid monthly. 398 Interest is paid monthly. 399 Interest is paid monthly. 400 Interest is paid monthly. 401 Interest is paid monthly. 402 Interest is paid monthly. 403 Interest is paid monthly. 404 Interest is paid monthly. 405 Interest is paid monthly. 406 Interest is paid monthly. 407 Interest is paid monthly. 408 Interest is paid monthly. 409 Interest is paid monthly. 410 Interest is paid monthly. 411 Interest is paid monthly. 412 Interest is paid monthly. 413 Interest is paid monthly. 414 Interest is paid monthly. 415 Interest is paid monthly. 416 Interest is paid monthly. 417 Interest is paid monthly. 418 Interest is paid monthly. 419 Interest is paid monthly. 420 Interest is paid monthly. 421 Interest is paid monthly. 422 Interest is paid monthly. 423 Interest is paid monthly. 424 Interest is paid monthly. 425 Interest is paid monthly. 426 Interest is paid monthly. 427 Interest is paid monthly. 428 Interest is paid monthly. 429 Interest is paid monthly. 430 Interest is paid monthly. 431 Interest is paid monthly. 432 Interest is paid monthly. 433 Interest is paid monthly. 434 Interest is paid monthly. 435 Interest is paid monthly. 436 Interest is paid monthly. 437 Interest is paid monthly. 438 Interest is paid monthly. 439 Interest is paid monthly. 440 Interest is paid monthly. 441 Interest is paid monthly. 442 Interest is paid monthly. 443 Interest is paid monthly. 444 Interest is paid monthly. 445 Interest is paid monthly. 446 Interest is paid monthly. 447 Interest is paid monthly. 448 Interest is paid monthly. 449 Interest is paid monthly. 450 Interest is paid monthly. 451 Interest is paid monthly. 452 Interest is paid monthly. 453 Interest is paid monthly. 454 Interest is paid monthly. 455 Interest is paid monthly. 456 Interest is paid monthly. 457 Interest is paid monthly. 458 Interest is paid monthly. 459 Interest is paid monthly. 460 Interest is paid monthly. 461 Interest is paid monthly. 462 Interest is paid monthly. 463 Interest is paid monthly. 464 Interest is paid monthly. 465 Interest is paid monthly. 466 Interest is paid monthly. 467 Interest is paid monthly. 468 Interest is paid monthly. 469 Interest is paid monthly. 470 Interest is paid monthly. 471 Interest is paid monthly. 472 Interest is paid monthly. 473 Interest is paid monthly. 474 Interest is paid monthly. 475 Interest is paid monthly. 476 Interest is paid monthly. 477 Interest is paid monthly. 478 Interest is paid monthly. 479 Interest is paid monthly. 480 Interest is paid monthly. 481 Interest is paid monthly. 482 Interest is paid monthly. 483 Interest is paid monthly. 484 Interest is paid monthly. 485 Interest is paid monthly. 486 Interest is paid monthly. 487 Interest is paid monthly. 488 Interest is paid monthly. 489 Interest is paid monthly. 490 Interest is paid monthly. 491 Interest is paid monthly. 492 Interest is paid monthly. 493 Interest is paid monthly. 494 Interest is paid monthly. 495 Interest is paid monthly. 496 Interest is paid monthly. 497 Interest is paid monthly. 498 Interest is paid monthly. 499 Interest is paid monthly. 500 Interest is paid monthly. 501 Interest is paid monthly. 502 Interest is paid monthly. 503 Interest is paid monthly. 504 Interest is paid monthly. 505 Interest is paid monthly. 506 Interest is paid monthly. 507 Interest is paid monthly. 508 Interest is paid monthly. 509 Interest is paid monthly. 510 Interest is paid monthly. 511 Interest is paid monthly. 512 Interest is paid monthly. 513 Interest is paid monthly. 514 Interest is paid monthly. 515 Interest is paid monthly. 516 Interest is paid monthly. 517 Interest is paid monthly. 518 Interest is paid monthly. 519 Interest is paid monthly. 520 Interest is paid monthly. 521 Interest is paid monthly. 522 Interest is paid monthly. 523 Interest is paid monthly. 524 Interest is paid monthly. 525 Interest is paid monthly. 526 Interest is paid monthly. 527 Interest is paid monthly. 528 Interest is paid monthly. 529 Interest is paid monthly. 530 Interest is paid monthly. 531 Interest is paid monthly. 532 Interest is paid monthly. 533 Interest is paid monthly. 534 Interest is paid monthly. 535 Interest is paid monthly. 536 Interest is paid monthly. 537 Interest is paid monthly. 538 Interest is paid monthly. 539 Interest is paid monthly. 540 Interest is paid monthly. 541 Interest is paid monthly. 542 Interest is paid monthly. 543 Interest is paid monthly. 544 Interest is paid monthly. 545 Interest is paid monthly. 546 Interest is paid monthly. 547 Interest is paid monthly. 548 Interest is paid monthly. 549 Interest is paid monthly. 550 Interest is paid monthly. 551 Interest is paid monthly. 552 Interest is paid monthly. 553 Interest is paid monthly. 554 Interest is paid monthly. 555 Interest is paid monthly. 556 Interest is paid monthly. 557 Interest is paid monthly. 558 Interest is paid monthly. 559 Interest is paid monthly. 560 Interest is paid monthly. 561 Interest is paid monthly. 562 Interest is paid monthly. 563 Interest is paid monthly. 564 Interest is paid monthly. 565 Interest is paid monthly. 566 Interest is paid monthly. 567 Interest is paid monthly. 568 Interest is paid monthly. 569 Interest is paid monthly. 570 Interest is paid monthly. 571 Interest is paid monthly. 572 Interest is paid monthly. 573 Interest is paid monthly. 574 Interest is paid monthly. 575 Interest is paid monthly. 576 Interest is paid monthly. 577 Interest is paid monthly. 578 Interest is paid monthly. 579 Interest is paid monthly. 580 Interest is paid monthly. 581 Interest is paid monthly. 582 Interest is paid monthly. 583 Interest is paid monthly. 584 Interest is paid monthly. 585 Interest is paid monthly. 586 Interest is paid monthly. 587 Interest is paid monthly. 588 Interest is paid monthly. 589 Interest is paid monthly. 590 Interest is paid monthly. 591 Interest is paid monthly. 592 Interest is paid monthly. 593 Interest is paid monthly. 594 Interest is paid monthly. 595 Interest is paid monthly. 596 Interest is paid monthly. 597 Interest is paid monthly. 598 Interest is paid monthly. 599 Interest is paid monthly. 600 Interest is paid monthly. 601 Interest is paid monthly. 602 Interest is paid monthly. 603 Interest is paid monthly. 604 Interest is paid monthly. 605 Interest is paid monthly. 606 Interest is paid monthly. 607 Interest is paid monthly. 608 Interest is paid monthly. 609 Interest is paid monthly. 610 Interest is paid monthly. 611 Interest is paid monthly. 612 Interest is paid monthly. 613 Interest is paid monthly. 614 Interest is paid monthly. 615 Interest is paid monthly. 616 Interest is paid monthly. 617 Interest is paid monthly. 618 Interest is paid monthly. 619 Interest is paid monthly. 620 Interest is paid monthly. 621 Interest is paid monthly. 622 Interest is paid monthly. 623 Interest is paid monthly. 624 Interest is paid monthly. 625 Interest is paid monthly. 626 Interest is paid monthly. 627 Interest is paid monthly. 628 Interest is paid monthly. 629 Interest is paid monthly. 630 Interest is paid monthly. 631 Interest is paid monthly. 632 Interest is paid monthly. 633 Interest is paid monthly. 634 Interest is paid monthly. 635 Interest is paid monthly. 636 Interest is paid monthly. 637 Interest is paid monthly. 638 Interest is paid monthly. 639 Interest is paid monthly. 640 Interest is paid monthly. 641 Interest is paid monthly. 642 Interest is paid monthly. 643 Interest is paid monthly. 644 Interest is paid monthly. 645 Interest is paid monthly. 646 Interest is paid monthly. 647 Interest is paid monthly. 648 Interest is paid monthly. 649 Interest is paid monthly. 650 Interest is paid monthly. 651 Interest is paid monthly. 652 Interest is paid monthly. 653 Interest is paid monthly. 654 Interest is paid monthly. 655 Interest is paid monthly. 656 Interest is paid monthly. 657 Interest is paid monthly. 658 Interest is paid monthly. 659 Interest is paid monthly. 660 Interest is paid monthly. 661 Interest is paid monthly. 662 Interest is paid monthly. 663 Interest is paid monthly. 664 Interest is paid monthly. 665 Interest is paid monthly. 666 Interest is paid monthly. 667 Interest is paid monthly. 668 Interest is paid monthly. 669 Interest is paid monthly. 670 Interest is paid monthly. 671 Interest is paid monthly. 672 Interest is paid monthly. 673 Interest is paid monthly. 674 Interest is paid monthly. 675 Interest is paid monthly. 676 Interest is paid monthly. 677 Interest is paid monthly. 678 Interest is paid monthly. 679 Interest is paid monthly. 680 Interest is paid monthly. 681 Interest is paid monthly. 682 Interest is paid monthly. 683 Interest is paid monthly. 684 Interest is paid monthly. 685 Interest is paid monthly. 686 Interest is paid monthly. 687 Interest is paid monthly. 688 Interest is paid monthly. 689 Interest is paid monthly. 690 Interest is paid monthly. 691 Interest is paid monthly. 692 Interest is paid monthly. 693 Interest is paid monthly. 694 Interest is paid monthly. 695 Interest is paid monthly. 696 Interest is paid monthly. 697 Interest is paid monthly. 698 Interest is paid monthly. 699 Interest is paid monthly. 700 Interest is paid monthly. 701 Interest is paid monthly. 702 Interest is paid monthly. 703 Interest is paid monthly. 704 Interest is paid monthly. 705 Interest is paid monthly. 706 Interest is paid monthly. 707 Interest is paid monthly. 708 Interest is paid monthly. 709 Interest is paid monthly. 710 Interest is paid monthly. 711 Interest is paid monthly. 712 Interest is paid monthly. 713 Interest is paid monthly. 714 Interest is paid monthly. 715 Interest is paid monthly. 716 Interest is paid monthly. 717 Interest is paid monthly. 718 Interest is paid monthly. 719 Interest is paid monthly. 720 Interest is paid monthly. 721 Interest is paid monthly. 722 Interest is paid monthly. 723 Interest is paid monthly. 724 Interest is paid monthly. 725 Interest is paid monthly. 726 Interest is paid monthly. 727 Interest is paid monthly. 728 Interest is paid monthly. 729 Interest is paid monthly. 730 Interest is paid monthly. 731 Interest is paid monthly. 732 Interest is paid monthly. 733

The right to choose

Vote No to closed lists

THE BATTLE between Lords and Commons over the voting system to be adopted in the coming European elections is one in which both sides are demonstrably in the wrong. The government side especially, because it favours a closed list system, under which voters are allowed to plump for a party, but the parties decide which of their candidates then fill the seats. The philosophy of the system elevates party convenience above the right of the voters to choose. A fortnight ago the Jenkins commission reported near unanimous distrust at its hearings around the country for any electoral system which increased the power of party machines. Though for reasons of *realpolitik* Lord Jenkins's party, the Liberal Democrats, are today standing shoulder to shoulder with Labour in defence of the closed list system, its use cannot be reconciled with these teachings of Jenkins.

Nor do some of the arguments advanced by ministers in defence of their choice make

it look any more palatable. In a radio interview yesterday the Home Office minister Lord Williams of Mostyn said that elections in Britain were already fought on closed lists, since the parties chose one candidate per constituency and the voters had to take them or leave them. That may be a fact of life, but it doesn't make it desirable as a general rule for elections, and it shouldn't rule out a preference for voter choice rather than party control where the situation permits it — as it could in the Euro-elections. Lord Williams also defends the closed list as giving a better chance of election to women, ethnic minorities and the disabled. This suggests that left to themselves, electors will habitually reject candidates in these groups. Politicians may wish to see voters making enlightened choices: so do we all. But it isn't their right, even so, to try to dictate to them. Nor is it entirely fair to portray this clash as the hereditary peers versus the people. The hereditaries should have been cleared from the upper chamber decades ago. But it wasn't done, and they still have a legal right to be there. On Thursday, when the Lords resolved by 237 to 194 to continue the fight for open systems, hereditary peers accounted for round about 55 per cent of the winning total. That they clearly tilted the balance may be yet one more reason for

abolishing them, but it doesn't remove their right to vote as they did.

The Conservatives, though, are in the wrong too, both because their sudden passion for open systems is essentially bogus, owing more to tactics than principle, and because if they persist in their present practice they may land us with yet another Euro-election fought under First Past the Post. In the end it comes down to this. An undemocratic chamber, while we still regrettably have one, has the right to warn an elected chamber against its looming mistakes; but it shouldn't, except on the very gravest occasions — and this isn't one — try to block the party which the people have chosen to put into government from rejecting such warnings and going ahead with its plans. The wrestling now seems destined to continue into next week, and possibly to erode the brief recess scheduled between the end of this session and the Queen's Speech on November 24. The rules clearly permit the Conservative Party to go on defying the Commons. William Hague would be wise, even so, not to persist to the end. Most voters still have little idea what awaits them on Euro-polling day. All the evidence suggests they are not going to like it. They will think they can smell manipulation, and they will be right. Mr Hague will be able to tell them that the Tories stood

almost alone (give or take the occasional honourable dissenter, like Labour's Lords Shore and Stoddart) and the Lib Dems' splendid Lord Russell in defending their right to choose. With so few political cards left in their hands at present, the Conservatives shouldn't spurn this one.

A kingly question

Do we still need a monarchy?

THE BOY prince is now a middle-aged man. Today Charles Windsor marks his 50th birthday, celebrating with a private bash at Highgrove. Last night there was a lavish extravaganza at Buckingham Palace, where the Prince parted with 850 of his closest friends, from Tony Blair to Vanessa Redgrave, Margaret Thatcher to Spice Milligan. The night before, Hampton Court was the venue for Joanna Lumley and the former Ginger Spice among the guests. So the Prince of Wales has not allowed his half-century to pass unnoticed. He's also had some fab prezies. Yesterday the armed services were kind enough to promote him to two-star rank in all three branches: from today he will be a Major General in the Army, a Rear Admiral in the Navy and Air Vice Marshal in the Air Force. For he's a

jolly good fellow, and so say all of us.

One hesitates to spoil the party, but even the most dedicated Carolinians will agree that the Prince has had a strange kind of life: 50 years spent with no clear role, in a professional waiting room, gearing up for a job he may not get until his late seventies. His friends will say he's made the best of it: the Prince's Trust for the young unemployed was an idea ahead of its time, promoting enterprise and nurturing talent. His detractors will point to Charles' aggressive conduct as a landowner, his inconsistent record as an organic farmer, his myopia on architecture and his outdated fondness for the leisure pursuits of the aristocracy. A substantial number will never forgive him his coldness to his former wife, who generated more public affection in 15 years than he has managed in 50.

The challenge for Charles now is to plan for what could be another two decades as king-in-waiting. His best contribution would be a genuine rethink of the place of the monarchy. That means more than marginal tinkering: it requires a fundamental reassessment of the entire institution, including an honest answer to the question of whether we need a monarchy at all. If Charles can face that question truthfully, then his life will have had some meaning — whether he ever becomes king or not.

Letters to the Editor

The Sun just likes to tease

I CAN understand Francis Wheen, resenting the Sun, (sic) and anyone else with a sense of humour, but does he really believe that gay people are "gay-baiting" (Wheen's word, November 11)? Wheen had to go back more than five years to find any quote that even half justified his laughable assertions. We work with and admire many gay people in show business, and we protect them from outings. We may tease occasionally, but our considered hostility is reserved exclusively for gay rights extremists. Gary Bushell.

RE your article on labour statistics (A job lost every 10 minutes, November 11): employment has increased by over 1,000 jobs for every working day since the action (418,000 jobs). We now have the highest number of people in work since records began. The last quarter also saw the proportion of women in work reach record levels and job vacancies at over 310,000, again a record. The number of long-term young people claiming benefit has halved since the election. Andrew Smith, Minister of State, Department of Education and Employment.

ON someone please tell Tony Blair that businessmen have quite enough economic power over my life without him extending their reach to politics as well. The pods from outer space that replaced the Labour MPs that we elected have shown they haven't got the hang of this democracy lark. Ken for King. Brian Collier, Shipley, W. Yorks.

I disagree about the meaning of a word becomes fundamental and widespread. It is doubtful whether it is any longer a useful term. Sadly, I suspect this late has overtaken the word "feminist". What can we use instead? Gill Chapman, Bradwell, Suffolk.

No vote for local bosses

THE Government's programme for the modernisation of local government is exceptionally interventionist (Bosses who punch their weight, November 11). It insists on a "cabinet" headed by a leader or, preferably, an elected mayor, in every authority, without acknowledging that at Westminster the cabinet government means that the majority who are not at, or near, Cabinet level are lobby fodder and much less usefully engaged than today's councillors. The only justification for this upheaval is, as far as I can tell from the writings of the academic who has strongly influenced the Government, that today's councillors are too "inwardly focused" and fail to provide "leadership" (Government shorthand, apparently, for single-minded authoritarianism). In fact, British local government is remarkably effective by international standards. Big-time mayors may mean loud public relations, but they often mean blatant cronyism (particularly if they select the "cabinet").

Those authorities which buy this scheme will be designated "beacon councils" and given more money. Those which don't will be "in-

spected" by government heavies. What price subsidiarity? Oddly, a few decades ago it was Labour policy to apply the present council committee system to central government. Cllr John Garrett, Norwich.

THERE may be a case for streamlining and reducing the number of committees, but essentially the system is a major safeguard against corruption in local government. The rank-and-file councillor has to be presented with much of the available information in order to take part in the decision-making process. The further away the average member is from taking part in real discussion, the greater the opportunity for corruption to appear amongst those at the heart of the decision-making process. I believe that this country has a far better record of clean, efficient local government with far less corruption than countries like France and the US, where elected mayors play a major part in local government. I write as a Hertfordshire County Councillor for more than 20 years (and a former leader of the Labour group). David Moss, Dunstable.

DAVID Walker suggests elected mayors might be "liberating". The reason for preferring this elected dictatorship is to raise interest in local government, noting that turnouts in local government elections are low. The Government also notes that part of the difficulty with local authorities is the framework of law within which they have to work. "This framework of controls has weakened public interest and confidence in local government, and reduced councils' capacity to serve their communities," the White Paper declares. But the Government's replacements for two of the most restrictive controls — compulsory Competitive Tendering (to be replaced by Best Value) and universal capping (discriminating power) — are hardly less restrictive and will not serve to increase interest in local government. While the Government continues to hold the purse strings and councils are unable to raise the money they need to carry out the services their local communities demand, public interest in local government will remain minimal. Cllr Dermot Roof, Oxford.

But tenants still support the council as landlord

THE increase in empty homes is not restricted to council housing (Council houses unloved, unlettable, November 10). It is a consequence of changes in regional economies and subsequent loss of population. Locally, the choices are not about tenure but about location; reflecting concerns about crime or facilities. The transfer of council housing to an association or trust is an attempt to tackle the £20 billion needed to improve council properties. David Butler, Chief Executive, Chartered Institute of Housing.

THERE are many council homes which are lettable and highly sought after. The problem lies not so much in the possession of the properties, or the mismatch of type and style of homes. Third-floor homes and unmodernised houses are not as attractive as a house which has been improved. The people who really gain from stock transfer are the consultants and solicitors. Cllr B E Garlick, Manchester.

YOUR report reinforced the negative image of council estates; boarded-up windows,

unpopular ghettos, difficult to let and inhabited by vandals and criminals. The photos chosen to illustrate the report added to this stereotype of urban blight. On our Manchester overspill estate tenants are overwhelmingly in favour of remaining council tenants on well-maintained community-spirited estates. So please stop perpetuating myths about ordinary people's lives. Councils can do a good job if tenants play their part in identifying needs and deciding on spending priorities. Bill Cawley, Stockport.



Stand up for the right to snigger

MPs, and Cabinet ministers in particular, are paid with my money, decide how my money is to be spent, control how I may spend my time, whether working or leisure, and can commit the UK to a policy I may disagree with or find irksome, subject only to a *canged d'aire* every five years. And, on top of that, they want privacy? I don't want to stop my rules getting their pleasure where and how they want. But I do want the right to know about it, to snigger about it, to hear and make jokes about it — and them. It may, or may not,

influence my vote — but that really is my business. Stephen Meyer, Leeds.

MEN can be prosecuted for lewd-crawling, but homosexual men are free to prowl around commons, bars and public toilets soliciting for sex, and when they are exposed it is society which is "intolerant". The prowler becomes the victim, it becomes a fight for gay rights and anyone who raises objection to this form of promiscuity is homophobic. M King, London.

Wave of jobs

LET'S put some numbers on Colin Hines's powerful advocacy of environmentally and socially sound development (Letters, November 12). Installing energy efficiency technologies in homes and industry throughout the EU can create up to 500,000 jobs in the manufacturing, retail and service sectors. Over a million more jobs can come from realising just half of the EU's renewable energy potential, and by investing even more isolated and underused wind and wave, and building up a decent public transport system can lead to an achievable increase of 230,000 jobs by 2010.

Carbon taxes could eradicate fuel poverty and improve the living conditions of millions more by recycling the revenues raised into these eco-sound developments. Charles Secrett, Director, Friends of the Earth.

Carbon taxes could eradicate fuel poverty and improve the living conditions of millions more by recycling the revenues raised into these eco-sound developments. Charles Secrett, Director, Friends of the Earth.

Bombing Iraq will only put civilians in the front line

WISH to express our grave concern at the willingness of the US to take military action against Iraq (Leader, November 13). We have always supported the work of Unsum and there is genuine reason to question the integrity of Saddam Hussein in relation to the development of weapons of mass destruction. However, it is doubtful that a military strategy would successfully end Saddam's weapons research and production. Baghdad could survive the offensive sufficiently to continue its programmes, and it is unlikely that Unsum would be allowed back into the country after the raids.

Some UN presence on the ground remains the best option. Military action would incur unacceptable civilian casualties. The effects of the sanctions on the civilian population is of increasing concern. There must be more transparency with regard to what Saddam must still do, including a comprehensive list of requirements and details of which sanctions would be lifted when targets had been met.

We would not, in any case, find it possible to support military action without a renewed mandate from the Security Council. Malcolm Harper, United Nations Association.

IT makes good sense to withhold force unless Saddam justifies its use by attacking another country first. If the US attacks Iraq now, the Iraqi people will see the West as a vindictive bully, and bond with Saddam. Dr M J Heatley, Oxford.

OUR ever subservient Prime Minister Blair is once again supporting military action against Iraq. Despite intensive canvassing the US could only muster the support of Britain, Israel and Kuwait for its position. To refer to this as the world com-

munity's support for military action is inaccurate and ignores Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims, Africans etc. Paul Kumar, Somerset.

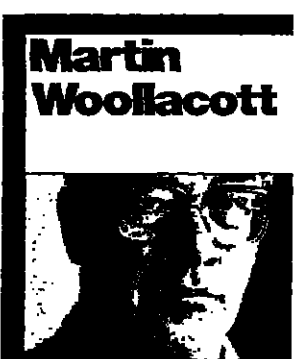
YOU ask will the purpose of military action be to punish them, or to incite disaffection? Evidence exists that Iraq holds stores of terrible weapons, but are those who pick the targets sure that they will not hit innocent civilians? Punishment and destabilisation must surely, for the moment, be irrelevant. Ernest Evans, Bradford-on-Avon, Wilt.

Alive and well

PEPER Harrow is alive and well. Bob Grove (The seeds of despair, November 11) referred to Peper Harrow as sadly defunct, and although it is true that the Peper Harrow Community as such was closed in 1993, the work of the charity goes on and is indeed growing. The Peper Harrow Foundation continues, in several parts of the country, the work pioneered at its "mother" community in Surrey. We are active in Northamptonshire, Shropshire, and south London, and we will shortly be opening new residential therapeutic centres in Kent, London and Norwich. We cannot claim total success in our efforts to help these unfortunate youngsters — there are many ways of describing "success". But Gary is not unique in having overcome his damaging early life experiences to the point where he is a successful parent, and where the cycle of abuse has finally been broken. Michael Willis, Chief executive, Peper Harrow Foundation. Please include a full postal address, even on e-mailed letters, and a daytime telephone number. We may edit letters.

Real change must be brought about in Iraq if the loss of life is to be a cost worth paying

End game, we hope



GEOGE Bush called Saddam: "Hitler revisited." Like Hitler, Saddam is a flabby, sallow-skinned man with a moustache who has caused much human suffering, if not anything on the scale of the German leader. He rules in his own country through that mixture of terror, interest, and acquiescence which characterised fascist societies — the Republic of Fear of which one of his most eloquent opponents has written.

He has aspired, and perhaps still does, to intimidate

his neighbours and take over their territory. But he is not in charge of a leading industrial society, as Hitler was. He does not stride the world. The tired ideology which his regime professes has none of the poisonous energy that fascism could focus. He never commanded, and he certainly does not now command, overwhelming military forces. And, even if he did put together some viable mass destruction weapons, it is certain that if he used them, Iraq would suffer immediate and disproportionate retaliation. And yet there are similarities between the dilemmas we face now and those that the democracies confronted in the thirties. The credibility of the world body — then the League, now the UN — is involved. If a pattern of failure were to emerge over Iraq, farmer Yugoslavia, and the Arab-Israeli conflict it might be seen in the future as similar to the pattern which emerged after League of Nations reverses in the Rhineland, Manchuria, Abyssinia, and Spain. True, the threats have not been as great, nor the failures

so complete. True, too, that we have now what we did not have then — an assertive superpower, often giving way to the impulse to unilaterally sanction or punish those who defy its authority. The problem of order which arises in the case of Iraq is thus a combination of the threat which Saddam represents and the threat which the ways we choose to deal with him may also represent. Saddam is a threat to that order because he persists in the aim of acquiring nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. Our response may also be damaging because a shabby and a deputy, Clinton and Blair, without a posse, and perhaps without a proper warrant, seem less than fully lawful. If Saddam is no Hitler, he is not just another dictator. He is far worse, for instance, than Pinochet. Those who have opposed him have been killed or exiled. Those he has co-opted he has corrupted. Those ordinary folk who are too insignificant to fall into either category he has impoverished both materially and spiritually. It would be the world's duty to strive to

remove him in order to release Iraqis from their prison house, even if he was not a man obsessed with the possession of weapons of mass destruction. That obsession has been his, and our, undoing over the last eight years. The contradiction of the inspections regime was that the Iraqis never had the slightest intention of giving up all of their advanced weapons capacity, and the Americans, knowing this, were determined that as long as Saddam never and sanctions never be lifted. The only end envisaged by Saddam was that sanctions be lifted while he still had weapons. The only end envisaged by the United States was the fall of Saddam — and yet they were never entirely sure that they wanted that, unless a "safe" military succession could be guaranteed. What has happened in the last two weeks is that this caution has been cast aside. The Americans seem determined on military action, and less concerned about controlling the consequences than

they were in the past. The more intense and sustained bombing campaign that has now been planned could have two results. It could fail — fail, that is, either to remove Saddam or to bring about his compliance with the inspection regime. Or it could succeed, by triggering a successful rising against him. This is a risky business, akin to a throw of the dice, as one American official put it this week. If the bombing campaign fails, or if a grudging compliance is forthcoming before or after military action, the consequences will be an Iraq even more isolated and sanctioned than at present. The sufferings of ordinary Iraqis would increase, while Saddam would almost certainly race to ready some weapons of mass destruction. If he tried to use them, he would be obliterated, but the damage that might be done in the process could be terrible. If the campaign did lead to Saddam's fall, that, while desirable, would not be without its dangers. There is no Iraqi government in waiting. There could be an uncon-

trollable and bloody reaction against the large numbers in the civil service and the security forces who have served Saddam. The Kurds of the north, the Sunni Arabs of the centre, and the Shi'ites of the south have disparate interests and no history of working together in freedom. Yet the bogey of an Iraqi partition seems less real now than when it influenced the Americans to abandon the Shi'ite and Kurdish uprisings in 1991. The conflict between Saddam and his Western enemies has undoubtedly passed into a new and potentially final phase. The humiliations which Saddam inflicted on the United States earlier in the year, outmanoeuvring Washington in the last crisis over inspections and creating a situation where the Americans had to pull their punches in later clashes over access to foreign policy, characterised by the tougher line with Milosevic over Kosovo, the Tye River agreement between the Israelis and the Palestinians, and now the swift reaction to

Saddam's ending of co-operation with the UN inspectors. The chances that Saddam's able foreign minister, Tariq Aziz, will be able to stage manage a diplomatic "solution" still exist, but it will not be as easy in the past. The Kofi Annan who said in Baghdad that "I think I can do business with Saddam", is more cautious today, and France and Russia are keeping their distance. To imagine that the United States and Britain have been carefully planning through the summer to go for Saddam's throat would be wrong. Saddam had rendered the inspection regime largely ineffective and was well on his way to getting the review of sanctions which was his objective when he misadvised by blocking any intrusive inspections. That led to a crisis to which the Americans, with the British in tow, had to react. The kind of military attack that had been mounted before would clearly be useless. The result seems to have been that, in casting around for an effective way to act, America has finally discarded

those fears of chaos in Iraq which have guided its policy since the end of the Gulf War and which have helped keep Saddam in power. There has been much talk this year about Saddam "getting out of his box" or being put back in it. It may be that it is the United States which is now out of the box — the box in which George Bush first put it when he ruled that there were other considerations more important than removing Saddam, like stability in Iraq, stability in the region, or the interests of such states as Saudi Arabia and Turkey. The attack which may soon be mounted, however much care is taken, will undoubtedly kill and injure Iraqis, including some in uniform, who have little or no responsibility for Saddam's crimes, and it will batter the already damaged economic infrastructure of the country — causing suffering to everybody except those close to the regime. There would be little justification for it unless it is aimed at bringing about a real change, immediately, if that is possible, and within a bearable period of time, if that is not.

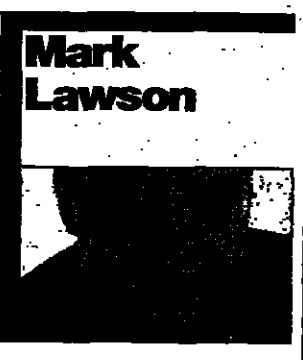
السيد من الراجح

Sheila 1.50

Saturday opinion

The Sun's 'outing' antics have blown up in their faces

The Notting Hill mafia



Mark Lawson

THE occasional coincidences between American and British politics — which reached a peak in the echo chamber of Reaganism/Thatcherism in the 80s — seem now to have produced another democratic double-act. Moral tolerance has apparently descended on both electorates. In Washington, a multiply adulterous President enjoys engorged approval ratings. In London, a cabinet with two ministers who are openly gay and one tacitly so contemplates newspaper opinion polls which suggest a majority of the public is at ease with their orientation.

The surface evidence indicates a new age of the open-minded voter. Some attribute this to a new moral realism: most extended families in Britain have now had some experience of sexual diversification. Others blame the death of shame, a terror of judging others. But whatever the explanation, when historians come to deal with this spell of apparent erotic magnanimity — whether it proves to be a genuine sea-change or a lull between two storms of bigotry — the behaviour of Britain's biggest-selling newspaper in the second week of November 1998 will prove bemusing to students.

On Monday the 9th, the Sun described on its front page: Is A Gay Mafia Running Britain? An inside page intended for "gay MPs who want to come out. We'll ring you back". This invitation/threat — recalling Jack Nicholson's "Come out! Come out wherever you are!" while wielding an axe in The Shining — felt like a declaration of war on homosexuals in public life.

Yet, on Wednesday the 11th, the Sun performed a back-flip of a complexity which, if attempted by a gymnast, would win gold medals. A "new policy statement" was issued, declaring that the paper was in general opposed to the outing of gay politicians. It was also revealed that Matthew Parris — a Sun columnist who had described Peter Mandelson as "certainly gay" in a Newsnight interview — had left the paper. Mr Parris has made clear that this was a sack prompted by his comments on BBC2. Although removing its only openly gay journalist may seem an odd way for a newspaper to demonstrate a new sympathy for homosexuals, the Sun presumably intended to indicate belief in tolerance and privacy.

BEFORE considering the possible explanations for this reverse, it's worth pointing out that the Sun's carefully cultivated reputation for sure-footed judgment of the public mood is something of a myth. On three occasions in the last decade, the paper has disastrously miscalculated the approach to a story which its readers would require.

One was the printing of police memos about the behaviour of Liverpool fans in the Hillsborough disaster of 1989. But, intriguingly, the other two cases of rapid editorial retreat both involve the treatment of homosexuality. Homophobic coverage of the entertainer Elton John and Michael Barry-

more was dropped after evidence that their sexuality had no effect on their popularity. It would be too strong to conclude from this that the paper's readers were pro-gay, but a sensible editor and proprietor might have concluded that they were pro-silence. Yet this week the mistake was repeated.

THE first explanation is that we have witnessed the outing of the recently-appointed David Yelland as simply the wrong man to be editing the Sun. Like a minister taking a walk on Clapham Common, he has blundered into dangerous territory and been left stripped of his reputation. Although the precise analogy for Yelland's actions would not be the minister on his late-night perambulation but the politician posing for a photograph with his family. For, in this analysis, the editor's difficulties arise not from following his inner instincts but from suppressing them.

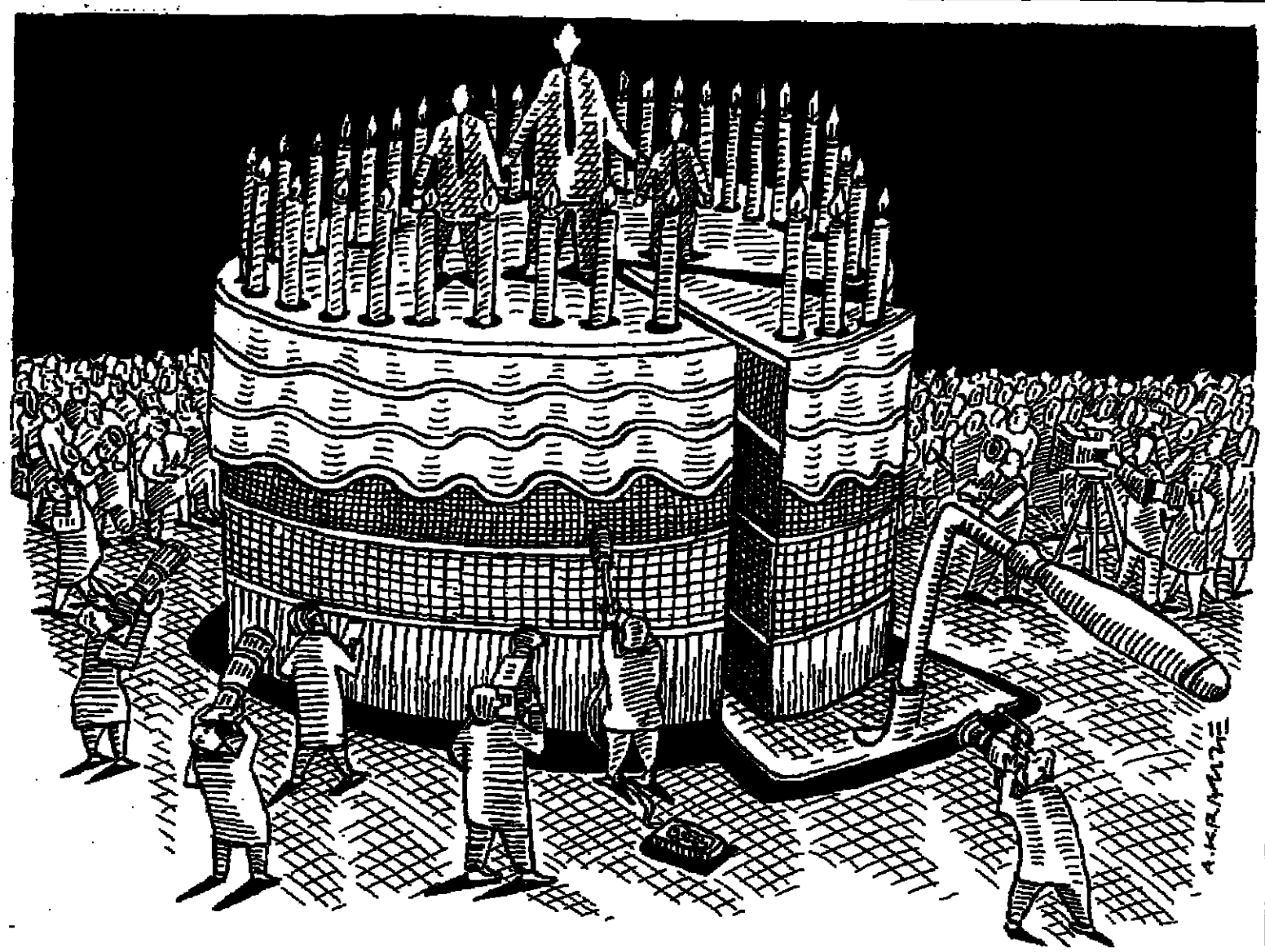
When Murdoch first imported Yelland from the New York Post to edit the Sun, the general view at rival titles was that his attitudes — moulded by living and working in New York — might be out of touch with those of the Sun readership. Ironically, given recent events, his critics were hinting that he would not be prejudiced enough. Might his Upper East Side political correctness result in a reluctance to pursue the duty of a Sun editor to destroy lives?

But, rather as the first generation of women at the top of industry and politics aped the worst of male behaviour, Yelland has perhaps been too determined to counter any doubts about his suitability. If so, he will surely soon find himself "out" in the old-fashioned professional sense.

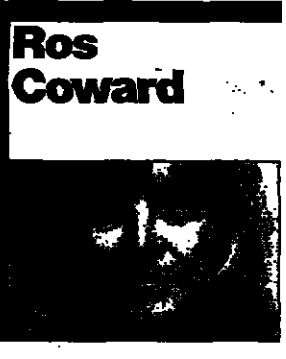
The second interpretation of the paper's ideological pivot is that it follows the Hillsborough/Elton Nicholson's "Come out! Come out wherever you are!" — a change of editorial policy. This seems plausible enough, as a paper with an audience of millions could not avoid a significant number of readers who either are or know well a homosexual. It is also possible that advertisers — particularly companies with American owners or ethos — raised objections to the paper's stone-age tone.

And yet it is a third explanation which makes most sense. It seems impossible that David Yelland could have enacted this volte-face on sexuality without direction from a higher power. The mischievous have pointed out that Rupert Murdoch, since his separation from his wife, resides (though with a female partner) in Greenwich Village, the gay centre of New York. Perhaps the tycoon has been getting some grief in the bars from his neighbours over the Sun's stance. It seems more likely, though, that the key player is Elisabeth Murdoch, the first daughter. Raised and educated in America, working in a television industry in which homosexuality is unremarkable, she is the most obvious person in the Murdoch empire to have been appalled by talk of a gay mafia. In this scenario, Elisabeth rang dad who phoned Yelland.

If this is what happened, then we must hope that the first daughter really was motivated by sexual liberalism. For there is a fourth explanation. Elisabeth Murdoch is a friend and Notting Hill neighbour of Peter Mandelson. The possibility therefore arises that the Sun has not gone pro-gay but pro-Mandy, and that the paradox of the sacking of a gay columnist to pacify the gay community is explained by the fact that Matthew Parris's real crime was to be anti-Mandy. And so we would be left not with a significant cultural shift but everyday expediency. The question we need answering is this: Is A Notting Hill Mafia Running Britain?



Birthday soap



Ros Coward

TODAY, in case you have failed to notice, is Prince Charles's 50th birthday.

The run up to this non-event has already brought out the worst in the British media; photo essays of the Prince from birth; craven television documentaries and news reports; eager promulgation of

the new spin on Charles as misunderstood husband and reforming monarch. Rewriting history for this occasion is bad enough. But more irritating is the realisation that the royal soap opera now has a new lease of life. Admittedly abdication talk has raised faint whispers of political debate but, for the most part, discussion of Charles is personal and domestic. What kind of person is he? What kind of father? Will he marry Camilla or put duty first?

Many thought Diana's death would put an end to this use of royalty as the nation's symbolic family. She was the only empathetic character in the pack, and her life encapsulated many contemporary themes and dilemmas of modern women. But without her surely the capacity of royals

to represent any contemporary issues looks severely reduced. Uncannily, though, Diana's departure has echoed what has been happening in film themes of the nineties. The single central preoccupation of contemporary film and television melodrama is the question of how fathers, especially lone fathers, can become good parents and, through this, more rounded human beings. Films as diverse as Fly Away Home, Sarajevo, Good Will Hunting as well as soap operas like ER and Eastenders and numerous sitcoms all make use of this theme. Often they concern men who are left alone with children, when the woman either dies or withdraws from the family in the pursuit of her independence. Film students have long understood that melodrama

and soap opera themes reveal the pre-occupations of their era. In the 50s, melodramas tracked over the emotional changes in the family and their effect on the genre's main constituency, women. Known as "three handkerchief movies" in the business, they often had a critical edge towards women. Film-maker Douglas Sirk, for example, made sure that a woman like Mildred Pierce, who struck out on her own from her family was still punished for her presumption by an unhappy fate.

In the 70s and 80s, soaps and melodramas could be seen picking over the dilemmas created by feminism, in particular the destabilisation of the traditional family by women's newly found sexual freedoms. In the 90s, the tensions between women's

Charles's saga is the triumph of old aristocratic values, a love affair between an idle woman and a spoilt patriarch

careers and family commitments became part of that cocktail. Again the portrayal was not always sympathetic. Fatal Attraction made the career woman a monster. In the 90s, however, films are preoccupied not with the transformations affecting women but those affecting

men. What is invariably at stake is men's struggle against the emotional repression of traditional masculinity. Men who start "inadequate" in some way work through to a more loving, emotional and less repressed relationship with their child. Sometimes these narratives are strongly misogynistic. Mothers get killed off or selfishly abandon their children, while the men make the heroic journey to become better human beings. Often at the end they can do everything and more than mothers could.

Royal commentators are already heavily investing in the redemption scenario typical of this genre. It's a matter of when, not whether, Charles will finally overcome the old Windsor repressions and become a decent human being.

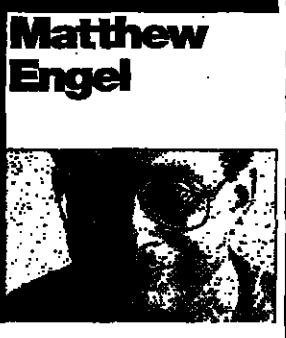
ALl harmless tabloid fun you might think, and no suggestion here that Charles came by this position in any way other than by accident, although perhaps the joke he made at his party about "killing two birds with one stone" was a tad tactless. But there is a price for imposing these narrative expectations and blurring fiction. Not the sort of price Diana paid, hounded by photographers who had ceased to see her as a human being. Charles, surrounded by an astonishingly deferential press, will be protected from all that.

Swathing him in these connotations is absurd. The soap themes surfaced as response to the changes wrought by feminism. They show men grappling with the end of the old patriarchal attachments to the family. Fundamentally they express very modern aspirations for more egalitarian connections. The Charles and Camilla saga is almost the precise opposite. It's the triumph of old aristocratic values, a love affair between an idle woman and a spoilt patriarch and the reclaiming of the younger princes for a lifestyle based around hunting, shooting and fishing.

But these stories exert a tremendous pull, so what becomes overwhelmingly interesting are sexual and emotional outcomes, not the political and social ramifications which would follow if this old-fashioned patriarch becomes head of an old-fashioned institution. This is a bizarre situation. Here we are with a Government which for all its faults has embarked on extensive constitutional reforms in keeping with ideals of creating a modern Britain. In opposition this Government included the monarchy in debates about reform. Now its members no longer seem interested in challenging the monarchy's anachronisms and old privileges. Instead, with Mandelson attending the Prince's birthday party, they join as celebrants in the transformation of the man.

This is where to go to get wet. Just don't ask for a glass of water

Rain check



Matthew Engel

IF YOU needed any further proof that the world was entirely insane, then here is the clincher. It is a report from Cherrapunji, the wettest town on earth. You'll never guess what it's gone short of. Oh yes. It has. Truly.

This is not the result of climatic change and global disaster, though there is a tie-in. The rain still pelts down as it always has: 11 metres or 430 inches in an average year, the height of six tall men. But Cherrapunji somehow contrives to lose the lot, so the residents have to buy buckets of water. "We have to save every drop as if we are living in the Sahara," said a local, quoted in the Dubai newspaper, Gulf News.

Cherrapunji is a hill station in the state of Meghalaya ("Big rains") in that obscure Far Eastern corner of India which doubles back behind Bangladesh. It remains obscure to westerners because the Delhi Government, pleading civil unrest, restricts access to foreigners, and you need special permits to go there.

It is a matter of mild contention whether it is technically the wettest place there is. (My initial attempts to solve this problem via the Internet resulted in being directed to

www.bowlsmovement.com, "the wettest site on the web, which caters for a sexual variation probably unrepresented even in the cabinet.) Further research produced four possible answers.

Mount Ruwenzori in Colombia, where the annual rainfall is said to be 13.33 metres (imagine the deep ends of seven swimming pools) may well be the champion. And Mount Waialeale in Hawaii is probably the rainiest, with only five dry days a year. (Even Tredgar gets six or seven.) But these are only weather stations. People actually live in Cherrapunji, though not, perhaps, if they can help it. There is another rival, the nearby settlement of Mawsram. But some analysts are sceptical about the accuracy of Mawsram's figures. Whatever. As a result of a topographical quirk when the south-west monsoon hits the Khasi Hills, Cherrapunji gets pretty damp.

"I was there when 13 inches fell in one night," recalls Greg O'Hara, professor of geography at the University of Derby. "I've known heavier tropical downpours going on for a short while. But it was like the most incredibly heavy shower that you would ever get in Britain, the sort that could never last more than 15 minutes, going on and on for about 12 hours."

That was August, when the area really cops it. But it comes down pretty steadily from the "mango rains" of March right through to October. Then for four months there is nothing. Meantime it all drains away in torrents down the gorges. The people of Bangladesh far below get flooded, while Cherrapunji goes thirsty. Gulf News puts the blame on increased popu-

lation, and deforestation. "Natural springs which provided an alternative source are slowly drying up due to rampant felling of trees at higher altitudes by organised gangs of timber smugglers," Professor O'Hara is a bit sceptical. He reckons deforestation is an old story. The hills have looked like Scottish moors, without the heather, for many years. He also finds it hard to believe that people are rushing to live there.

"It's a pretty mournful place, and the people all look very weather-beaten. They're all desperate to get out because there's nothing to do." He is

'I was there when 13 inches fell in one night, going on for about 12 hours'

inclined to blame under-investment. No one has ever bothered to build a reservoir, and the houses do not even have water butts to trap rain falling off the roofs.

Professor O'Hara, being a Scotsman, was unable to reveal when or if there is a cricket season in Cherrapunji. British officials and soldiers rushed to escape, and the regional capital was hastily moved to the more equable town of Shillong. Other visitors have reported that it is a good place to spot huge insects and snakes. And you can get very sturdy umbrellas. A glass of water? Sorry.

ENTRIES for our autumn competition came in even from Canada and Istanbul, whereas a reader disputes No 15, the assertion that Turks

use the Daily Telegraph for purposes undreamed of by its leader-writers. "I can assure you that the Guardian sells more here, and everyone knows the Guardian is no good at all for rolling joints."

The weather expert Philip Eden disputes No 2, which listed various places in the south-east as the most thundery places in England. He says the real answer lies round Alrewas, in Staffordshire. Alrewas Cherrapunji of the Midlands! But on this the savants seem to disagree. Many entrants insisted No 23 must be wrong because Grace Archer was killed to ruin the launch of ITV, not because the actress was a trade unionist. That explains the timing; it doesn't explain the choice of victim.

Come on, though. Twenty readers correctly lit upon No 11, and the two bottles of Fetzor organic wine go to Eddie Parsons of Exeter. His name was picked out by an unbiased six-year-old, who didn't think there were giraffes in the Antarctic either. Another contest soon.

LIST OF THE WEEK: Gulf News also reported the chief guests at the wedding of the son of the chairman of the Abu Dhabi Municipality and Town Planning Department, Mohammed bin Butti al Hamed. These included: Sheikh Humaid bin Rashid al Nuaimi of Ajman; Sheikh Hamad bin Mohammed al Sharqi of Fujairah; Sheikh Hamid bin Ismail al Kabila; Sheikh Hamdan bin Rashid al Maktoum; Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid al Maktoum; Sheikh Sultan bin Zayed al Nahyan; Shaiekh Saud bin Rashid al Mualala and Sheikh Nahyan bin Mubarak al Nahyan. There is no mention of the bride's name.

Manchester from

£39

return inc. taxes

Brussels from

£79

return inc. taxes

Frankfurt from

£129

return inc. taxes

Manchester from

£68

return inc. taxes

Oslo from

£109

return inc. taxes

Prague from

£166

return inc. taxes

Frills included.

Flight prices from London Heathrow.

For these and many more special European offers, contact your travel agent or call us (local rate) on

0845 6071632

More offers available from other airports in the UK and Ireland.

British Midland

The Airline for Europe

Prices quoted available on selected dates and flights. Subject to availability. Return travel must include a Saturday night stay. Flight prices include UK and foreign travel taxes. Bookings may vary with 7 day advance purchase required. Cans are accepted. Internet info: www.britishmidland.co.uk

Face to Faith

Where there's a will, there's probably a way

Andrew Brown

FOUR brains are computers, what happens to our souls? The question is more subtle and difficult than it first appears. Most people have seen it as meaning "can computers grow to be more like brains?" or as Aaron Solomon, professor of artificial intelligence at Birmingham University, asks: "Can machines love?" This is one form of the question around which debate has circled for decades: whether brains are the only home of consciousness?

But it is just as interesting to ask whether computers are the only home of computation, even if the answer is obvious: they are not. If computation consists in following mathematical or logical rules until a desired result is achieved, then the whole thrust of modern science has been to discover these rules, and so to find computation everywhere. Evolutionary theorists show how patterns of behaviour arise and spread through populations, according to rules of which they cannot be conscious. Ants don't compute, but their behaviour is governed by rules that can be reproduced in a computer program.

It seems obvious that the same is true of our brains. They are computing devices, even if we are not computers. Of course, they are not running any one program, but numerous different processes at the same time; and it is entirely possible that different parts of these processes are carried on in different ways. The idea that we humans follow rules, which can in principle be spelt out (even when we are normally unconscious of them), is the foundation not just of scientific psychology but of folk psychology and common sense. It is easy to get from this to the view that free will is a deception: not only do computers not have it, we don't either. With Auden remarked once that he was a determinist — even though his own behaviour constantly surprised him — because his friends' behaviour never seemed to him unpredictable.

It did not mean that he was a more interesting character than they, merely that he (like they) had the indispensable faculty of self-deception. And this is a very popular approach to the difficulty of finding free will in a scientific world. You might call it soft determinism: it says that free will is a necessary illusion. If we really understood the universe, we would see that everything in it was fore-ordained; but as we can never reach such an understanding, our beliefs about free will can survive.

Hard pre-determinists, like Calvin and St Augustine, thought it was possible — in fact necessary — for us to have souls without free will. The structure of necessity, which they saw as eliminating free will, was not scientific causality but the justice of God. But the effect was eerily the same. The Calvinist, and those who believe that consciousness is only software running in the hardware of the brain, can both suppose that moral effort is simultaneously worthless and absolutely necessary.

The further that scientific research advances into the brain, the more plausible some such belief is going to seem. There are two different sorts of rules involved in these researches: some people are trying to get a better understanding of the psychological processes — the things that did not surprise Auden. Others are trying to get a better picture of the physical and chemical processes going on in the mind — which processes are involved in what sorts of thinking?

The final dream would be to unite these two sorts of understanding, so that you could look at brain activity from the outside and discover what someone was thinking. This may be impossible in principle, partly because brains are biological things, which grow differently in different people.

The more we understand about the ways in which the brain computes things, the less they seem like the metaphors of a digital computer. Susan Greenfield, professor of pharmacology at Oxford, has a powerful chapter on the differences between the two in her book *The Human Brain*. But brain processes still seem to most researchers to follow rules which are, in principle, comprehensible.

THIS all has two religious consequences. The first is that religious beliefs and practices, if they are to have effects in the physical world, will have them in brains before anywhere else. A nun, who has spent her life in contemplative prayer, will have a different brain to a business woman, and this difference will be detectable under a microscope, even if we don't yet know where to look or how to interpret our findings.

The second arises from this physicality of thought. Free will, souls and other immaterial objects will appear as aspects of brain organisation. That does not mean that they cease to exist. But we will have to learn to talk about them on several, separate, simultaneous layers: the physical, the moral, and the spiritual. Without supposing that any of these explains away the others, rather as the nature of Jesus is supposed to be fully human and fully divine. Perhaps brain scientists could learn the handling of such delicate ambiguities from Byzantine theologians: it would make a wonderful revenge for Christianity.

Andrew Brown will chair a debate on consciousness sponsored by Prospect magazine and CUP next Thursday at the LSE



Strange... among the first to see the implications of flexible exchange rates for world capital markets

Susan Strange

New world orders

THE death of Susan Strange, at the age of 75, has robbed the academic study of international relations of one of its most creative and influential personalities, and her specialist field, international political economy, of one of its dominant international figures.

Susan Strange was born one of two children, in Dorset; her father, Colonel Louis Strange, was a first world war pilot, who had pioneered the use of machine-guns on propeller planes. She was educated at the Royal School, Bath, and in 1940 went to the London School of Economics, where she took a first in economics in 1943. She had married Dennis Merritt, a medical student from Barts, a year earlier and then spent two years on the Economist before joining the Observer.

From the Observer she moved after the war, she analysed, first as White House correspondent and then at the UN, the forming of the post-1945 institutional order. She drew from this experience a scepticism about the power of international institutions, and an abiding belief in the importance of there being a leader — what came to be termed a "hegemon" — within any system of finance or commerce. Returning to Britain in 1948 Susan worked for another eight years as economics correspondent of the Observer, but she had already begun a parallel academic career. At University College, London, 1955 her first marriage was dissolved and she then married Clifford Selby, a former Daily Herald correspondent who had joined the Observer and whose copy she had edited.

They were to form a striking couple, gracious and ironic in the company of

friends, and to have four children to add to the two Susan had already by her first marriage. Cliff wrote an influential critique of industrial farming, *It Fares The Land*. Susan shared much of his view of the malaise of the agricultural world, and a distrust of US domination of world agriculture.

From 1965 to 1976 she was at Chatham House, working on international finance; her *Strategic and Political Aspects of the World Economy* was published in 1971. This was the time when the Bretton Woods system of fixed exchange rates was beginning to erode: Susan was one of the first to see the implications of the uncertainty that flexible exchange rates would introduce, and of the increasing rapidity — made possible

by technological change — with which money could circulate worldwide.

In 1986, she developed her analysis of the volatile world capital market; the "casino" referred not to market risk, but to the fact that the world money market was now open 24 hours a day. In 1978 Susan returned to LSE in a full-time capacity as Montague Burton Professor of International Relations. Here she did her most influential work, and made her greatest mark in Britain and internationally. She was a moving spirit in founding the British International Studies Association in 1974, and was a regular attendee at its annual conferences. To be seen as recently as last December in Leeds rebuking colleagues in

national Affairs in 1970 and developed in *States and Markets* (1988) the multi-faceted theory of power structures in world affairs. She argued for studying the reciprocal interaction of the political and military power structure, primarily represented by states, with three other structures, that states did not control: those of finance, production and knowledge.

She had little time for theories based on what she termed 'the imperialism of economics', and of such abhorrence to her husband, Cliff, and by five of her six children.

She had little time for theories based on what she termed 'the imperialism of economics', and of such abhorrence to her husband, Cliff, and by five of her six children.

She had little time for theories based on what she termed 'the imperialism of economics', and of such abhorrence to her husband, Cliff, and by five of her six children.

she was "an accidental theorist".

Susan Strange retired from LSE in 1988, leaving behind a department invigorated by her leadership and presence; as the person who followed her as convenor of the department I had more than enough occasion to note the affection and enthusiasm that she generated.

Retirement in the conventional sense was, for her, unthinkable. She continued to teach, supervise research and write, first for six years at the European University Institute in Florence and then, until her death, at the Department of International Relations at Warwick. She held visiting professorships in Milan and Tokyo. She became an avid tennis player.

In 1995 she was made president of the American International Studies Association, only the second non-American to receive the honour, and used the occasion to deliver a characteristically "Susan-like" diatribe against rational choice theory. Her last book, *Mad Money* was launched at the European International Relations Conference in Vienna in September, by which time, afflicted with cancer of the liver, she was too weak to attend.

Her ideas were pioneering, robust and convincing in a world where fashion, or intellectual status, too easily prevail. It was, however, as much as anything her personality — the smiling eyes and the elegant criticism — that her colleagues and former students will treasure. She is survived by her husband, Cliff, and by five of her six children.

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

she was "an accidental theorist".

Susan Strange retired from LSE in 1988, leaving behind a department invigorated by her leadership and presence; as the person who followed her as convenor of the department I had more than enough occasion to note the affection and enthusiasm that she generated.

Retirement in the conventional sense was, for her, unthinkable. She continued to teach, supervise research and write, first for six years at the European University Institute in Florence and then, until her death, at the Department of International Relations at Warwick. She held visiting professorships in Milan and Tokyo. She became an avid tennis player.

In 1995 she was made president of the American International Studies Association, only the second non-American to receive the honour, and used the occasion to deliver a characteristically "Susan-like" diatribe against rational choice theory. Her last book, *Mad Money* was launched at the European International Relations Conference in Vienna in September, by which time, afflicted with cancer of the liver, she was too weak to attend.

Her ideas were pioneering, robust and convincing in a world where fashion, or intellectual status, too easily prevail. It was, however, as much as anything her personality — the smiling eyes and the elegant criticism — that her colleagues and former students will treasure. She is survived by her husband, Cliff, and by five of her six children.

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Susan Strange, political economist, born June 9, 1923; died October 25, 1998

Mary Millar

Sweet charity

MARY MILLAR's life held a double irony. The stage and television performer, who has died of cancer aged 62, was known to the viewing public as the short-skirted, tartly man-chaser of BBC television's situation comedy *Keeping Up Appearances*. In the real world, however, she was a committed Christian, who discussed her faith for half of her one-woman show, *An Evening With Mary Millar*, and whose work for the third world had recently taken her to Malawi for the charity World Vision.

The second irony was that as a straight tart, Rose, Hyacinth Bucket's sister in *Keeping Up Appearances*, was a departure from the mainstream of Millar's professional life as a singer of arias in and out of stage musicals, gospel tours and experimental workshop productions by leading composers like Sondheim and Lloyd Webber.

When the opportunity to appear in *Keeping Up Appearances* arose in 1990, she feared at first that she might be too self-conscious. But she decided that if she were going to audition, she would do it with flamboyant relish. She bought the shortest skirt she could find and kept the producer asked to see her legs. She got the role.

Mary Millar was born in Sheffield, the daughter of two singers, Horace and Eileen Wetton, who specialised in arias for concert parties. She started to sing operatic arias in variety at the age of 14, and the day after she left school went into pantomime in *Babes in the Wood* at the Sheffield Empire with Morecambe and Wise. Eric taught her to do the time step, a tap-dancing routine.

At 17 she had an immediate television success when she appeared in *Those Were The Days*, the programme which recreated old-time music hall. After that she appeared in many pantomimes and panned shows, did tours of *The Desert Song* with John Hanson, and went to America in a production of *Camelot* with Richard Burton and Julie Andrews. She was understudy to Andrews, whose health remained frail throughout the tour, so

that Millar made only one performance — a private one for other actors. She was the first actress to play Madame Giry in *The Phantom of the Opera* for Andrew Lloyd Webber, creating much of her own business for the role. But illness struck five days before the show was due to open. She struggled on, and in the end had two long runs in the musical.

Millar's more limited appearances in straight plays were often at the Queen's Theatre, Hornchurch, where she appeared in plays as various as *The Rivals* and *Whodunnit* by Agatha Christie. She played in *Bless The Bride* at Richmond Theatre, then went on tour with it. She toured Israel with *How Lucky Can You Get?* and played in the premiere of *The Matinee Game* at the Yvonne Arnaud Theatre, Guildford, but did not follow it into West End.

Though live theatre was her principal activity, she had the distinction of appearing in the first major colour transmission on BBC-TV, first in a version of *The Mikado* and the following year in *Iolanthe*. There was a fresh shadowing success as man-eating Rose when she appeared on the broad-humoured *Dick Emery Show*.

MARY Millar married Raphael, a theatre photographer, 36 years ago and they had one daughter, Lucy, now a religious education teacher in a Church of England school. He was with her when she died at their south London home. She underwent two operations but returned home after them, where the American impresario Hal Prince was among those who telephoned to ask after her progress.

As her husband put it, the essence of her private and professional character was that she was "very direct and very, very giving, and it appears everybody loved her. I have just rung her dentist to cancel a dental appointment made for her and she burst into tears."

Dennis Barker

Mary Millar, singer and actress, born July 26, 1936; died November 10, 1998

Mary Millar, singer and actress, born July 26, 1936; died November 10, 1998

Mary Millar, singer and actress, born July 26, 1936; died November 10, 1998

Mary Millar, singer and actress, born July 26, 1936; died November 10, 1998

Mary Millar, singer and actress, born July 26, 1936; died November 10, 1998

Mary Millar, singer and actress, born July 26, 1936; died November 10, 1998

Mary Millar, singer and actress, born July 26, 1936; died November 10, 1998

Mary Millar, singer and actress, born July 26, 1936; died November 10, 1998

Mary Millar, singer and actress, born July 26, 1936; died November 10, 1998

Mary Millar, singer and actress, born July 26, 1936; died November 10, 1998

Mary Millar, singer and actress, born July 26, 1936; died November 10, 1998

Mary Millar, singer and actress, born July 26, 1936; died November 10, 1998

Mary Millar, singer and actress, born July 26, 1936; died November 10, 1998

Mary Millar, singer and actress, born July 26, 1936; died November 10, 1998

Mary Millar, singer and actress, born July 26, 1936; died November 10, 1998

Mary Millar, singer and actress, born July 26, 1936; died November 10, 1998

Mary Millar, singer and actress, born July 26, 1936; died November 10, 1998

Mary Millar, singer and actress, born July 26, 1936; died November 10, 1998

Mary Millar, singer and actress, born July 26, 1936; died November 10, 1998

Mary Millar, singer and actress, born July 26, 1936; died November 10, 1998

Mary Millar, singer and actress, born July 26, 1936; died November 10, 1998

Mary Millar, singer and actress, born July 26, 1936; died November 10, 1998

Mary Millar, singer and actress, born July 26, 1936; died November 10, 1998

Mary Millar, singer and actress, born July 26, 19

IMF agrees aid in effort to stem panic over Latin American economy



Brazilian President Fernando Cardoso faces a press conference in Brasilia yesterday to deny the existence of a secret £250 million bank account he is rumoured to have in the Cayman Islands. The claims had earlier been denounced as 'lies based on false documents'. Shares in Sao Paulo closed down 3.7 per cent amid fears of financial turmoil. PHOTOGRAPH: ANTONIO SCORZA

£25bn bailout for Brazil

Charlotte Denry

BRASIL signed up to a tough austerity programme yesterday in exchange for a \$41.5 billion (£25 billion) International Monetary Fund rescue package to prevent a capital flight overwhelming the economy.

The bailout is the fifth major rescue operation mounted by the IMF in the last 15 months in an effort to prevent panic spreading through the world's financial markets.

In return, Brazil has agreed to a stringent programme of

tax increases and public-spending cuts over three years to rein in its ballooning government deficit. The deal was finalised after several months of negotiations between the government and the IMF in order to avert a crisis in Latin America's largest economy.

Announcing the package, Michel Camdessus, managing director of the IMF, said: "The way is now open for the international community to provide financial support to Brazil that will enhance market confidence in the government's policies and help ensure the success of the country's programme."

Shares on the key Bovespa index rose more than five per cent in the immediate aftermath of the deal, but by late afternoon most of the gains had been trimmed back.

The Brazilian currency has

been under pressure since July when investors started fleeing emerging markets in the wake of Russian debt default. Policymakers feared a devaluation of the real could provoke another round of currency collapses just when global financial markets seemed to be stabilising.

Analysts said the decision to protect the currency and the stringent budget cuts agreed with the IMF — which amount to more than 3 per cent of output — are likely to send the world's ninth largest economy into recession. The aid package requires Brazil to turn its \$47 billion budget deficit into a surplus next year of 2.6 per cent of gross domestic product.

The IMF will provide up to \$18 billion for Brazil, \$9 billion of which will be available im-

mediately. The World Bank will contribute another \$4.5 billion and the Inter-American Development Bank about \$3.4 billion, officials said.

Western countries are also expected to contribute, including more than \$5 billion from the United States and \$7.55 billion from members of the European Union.

The Brazilian package is the third largest IMF bailout since 1994. The last rescue operation — that of Russia in July — proved a fiasco when the government defaulted on its debt and let its currency depreciate within a month of receiving the money.

Most of the IMF money had leaked out of the country

within weeks of the deal being signed. The Russian default prompted investors to pull out of emerging markets, making it increasingly difficult for countries such as Brazil to finance overseas borrowing.

Fears that the government would be forced to devalue the real as a result led to renewed capital flight. Investors have taken more than \$30 billion out of Brazil during the last three months, draining the country's foreign capital reserves to a level of around \$42 billion.

The IMF said the new package would be more than enough to help Brazil ward off further speculative attacks on the real.

Does it mean, however, that the emerging market crisis, and with it the problems for the global economy, are over? Somehow one doubts it. The restoration of confidence on Western equity markets over the past couple of months appears ill-based. The US economy is showing signs of strain in the shape of an overheating current account balance, negative household saving and heavy borrowing by the corporate sector. All bubbles eventually burst and, while the Brazilian rescue may ease the trade pressures on the US, it will not eliminate the risk in the banking, corporate bond and equity sectors.

Does it mean, however, that the emerging market crisis, and with it the problems for the global economy, are over? Somehow one doubts it. The restoration of confidence on Western equity markets over the past couple of months appears ill-based. The US economy is showing signs of strain in the shape of an overheating current account balance, negative household saving and heavy borrowing by the corporate sector. All bubbles eventually burst and, while the Brazilian rescue may ease the trade pressures on the US, it will not eliminate the risk in the banking, corporate bond and equity sectors.

Does it mean, however, that the emerging market crisis, and with it the problems for the global economy, are over? Somehow one doubts it. The restoration of confidence on Western equity markets over the past couple of months appears ill-based. The US economy is showing signs of strain in the shape of an overheating current account balance, negative household saving and heavy borrowing by the corporate sector. All bubbles eventually burst and, while the Brazilian rescue may ease the trade pressures on the US, it will not eliminate the risk in the banking, corporate bond and equity sectors.

Saturday Notebook

Rescue deal not the answer



Alex Brummer

THE Group of Seven strategy for stabilising the global economy following the Russian crisis since August, takes a critical step forward with the unveiling of the Brazilian rescue package after months of tough negotiations. At \$41 billion (£25 billion), the bailout is the biggest ever arranged, almost on a par with all the money sunk into the troubled East Asian economies last year.

Brazil has been seen as a test case for co-operative action by the richest countries. Since Asia erupted, the world's ninth largest economy, which accounts for 50 per cent of the GDP of the whole Latin American continent, has seen \$30 billion of capital flee its shores as investors took flight at the contagion from Russia and Asia. This month a further \$309 million has left, even though there has been extensive advance publicity over the IMF package. If the deal is to have any hope of working the outflows will need to be stopped, without breaching the principles of free and open capital markets.

There are a few surprises in the structure of the IMF deal. The \$14.5 billion provided directly by the Western democracies, via the Bank for International Settlements in Basle, is larger than expected. Some \$5 billion of the total has come directly from the US exchange equalisation account (the US Treasury's private fighting fund for the US dollar), an unusual step last used to bail out Mexico. This could be contentious on Capitol Hill, which dislikes the Clinton administration's tendency to use this fund as a means of avoiding scrutiny.

The missing element from the package is agreement from private sector bankers to take up some of the slack. One of the principles of the G7 has been seeking to establish that banks, fund managers and even hedge funds bear a greater level of responsibility for the emerging markets in which they invest. The Brazilian package doesn't appear to address that problem.

Does it mean, however, that the emerging market crisis, and with it the problems for the global economy, are over? Somehow one doubts it. The restoration of confidence on Western equity markets over the past couple of months appears ill-based. The US economy is showing signs of strain in the shape of an overheating current account balance, negative household saving and heavy borrowing by the corporate sector. All bubbles eventually burst and, while the Brazilian rescue may ease the trade pressures on the US, it will not eliminate the risk in the banking, corporate bond and equity sectors.

Does it mean, however, that the emerging market crisis, and with it the problems for the global economy, are over? Somehow one doubts it. The restoration of confidence on Western equity markets over the past couple of months appears ill-based. The US economy is showing signs of strain in the shape of an overheating current account balance, negative household saving and heavy borrowing by the corporate sector. All bubbles eventually burst and, while the Brazilian rescue may ease the trade pressures on the US, it will not eliminate the risk in the banking, corporate bond and equity sectors.

Rover failure

THE sudden crisis which enveloped Rover, just as the new Rover 75 was being unveiled at the Birmingham motor show last month, was blamed largely on the work-

force. The Government, in the shape of Peter Mandelson looking for an easy scapegoat, saw the problems of Rover as a chance to beat the productivity drum, arguing that the 44,000 workforce were somehow reverting to the old inefficient practices which were beaten out of the enterprise prior to BMW's arrival.

The productivity excuse was a useful one for Mr Mandelson and the German lenders to run with. For the Government, it appeared to support their case that Britain was behind in the productivity stakes, although, as the Institute of Fiscal Studies has subsequently shown, this is not strictly true. And it is easy for BMW, with its success and high margins on its German production, to blame UK working practices for the leakages of profit at Rover.

Authoritative sources are now suggesting that, while there may be some work practice issues which need tackling at Longbridge and elsewhere, this is only marginal to Rover's real problems. Basically, the German BMW management has misjudged the UK market. In the period to June the company was running £200 million above budget. Then the German management panicked and caved in to demands from distributors for huge discounts — request more experienced UK hands might have seen off. As a result, what was a manageable problem had become an £800 million shortfall in the management accounts.

As much as anything, it is this error by the German-installed management at Rover that has provoked the crisis which Mr Mandelson has been pleased to blame on the Rover workforce and which the BMW chairman, Bernd Pischetsrieder, has used as a bargaining tool to wrest financial assistance of up to £200 million from the UK and the European Union. That is good business for Mr Pischetsrieder who, like all motor manufacturers, knows that the game is to squeeze out of government as much assistance as possible for capital investment programmes.

What is unacceptable is that a workforce which has done so much to change the industrial culture in Britain should be blamed by the Trade Secretary for distribution/marketing errors by Rover Group chairman, Peter Hasselbusch and his BMW-installed team.

Royal world

THE highlight of the Queen's visit next week to see the City at work next week will be her time on the Merrill Lynch trading floor. This was the bit of the trip in which the Queen has been most interested: in the past she has never had an opportunity to visit one of the vast new electronic trading floors which dominate international finance.

It is also likely to be the most sensitive stop for Her Majesty. Merrill Lynch recently parted with some 400 staff in London, as a result of trading losses in the volatile markets which followed the Russian meltdown. As importantly, the company's chairman, David Komansky, who is flying from New York to be in attendance, was one of the players in the rescue of the Merrill Lynch hedge fund, Long-Term Capital Management. Given Mr Komansky's personal involvement, there could be no one better qualified to brief Her Majesty on how modern capitalism works.

National Power targets supplier

Chris Barrie

NATIONAL Power last night fuelled speculation that it is poised to enter the £1 billion-plus bidding war for London Electricity and may be facing problems with its overseas investments after last night requesting a week's delay to the announcement of its financial results.

Britain's second-largest generator, already resisting Government pressure to sell off as many as three power stations, has come under increasing demands in recent weeks to adopt a clearer, more decisive strategy.

National Power issued a terse one-line statement to the Stock Exchange informing investors

that its half-year figures would be released on November 25, a week later than planned.

Apart from belatedly stalling a regional electricity company, analysts believe the group is trying to clarify how much coal-fired plant must be sold. Rival generator PowerGen has already agreed to sell 4,000 megawatts of capacity — two coal-fired stations — widely believed to be Perrybridge and Fiddler's Ferry — as the price for obtaining approval for its £1.9 billion purchase of regional electricity company, East Midlands.

National Power argues that it, too, should be allowed to divert just 4,000 megawatts of coal-fired plant, not the 6,000 originally envisaged when the Government unveiled its reform of the energy market.

TOURIST RATES — BANK SELLS

Australia 2.538	Germany 2.712	Malaysia 6.31	Singapore 2.68
Austria 19.02	Greece 454.84	Malta 0.11	South Africa 8.27
Belgium 55.36	Hong Kong 12.50	Netherlands 3.04	Spain 224.28
Canada 2.406	India 55.57	New Zealand 3.01	Sweden 13.12
Cyprus 0.801	Ireland 1.082	Norway 12.13	Switzerland 2.20
Denmark 10.38	Israel 7.00	Portugal 275.75	Turkey 470.840
Finland 3.351	Italy 2.567	Saudi Arabia 5.12	USA 1.515
France 5.059			

Supplied by Reuters (excluding rupee, shilling and malawi)

Wales wins jobs, R-R wins aero order

Tom McElhie

THE economy received a double boost yesterday with news that Legal & General is to create more than 1,000 jobs in Cardiff, while BMW Rolls-Royce Aero Engines announced export orders worth £500 million.

Legal & General is opening its second-largest British operation in Cardiff, where it already employs hundreds of

people. The move to create an extra 1,000 jobs in Cardiff will bring the number of people employed by the firm in the Welsh capital to almost 2,000 within four years.

Announcing the expansion yesterday, Welsh Secretary Alun Michael said: "This is exceptional news for Cardiff and for Wales. Legal & General is a rapidly expanding company which has seen that Wales is able to offer the right environment for rapid and successful growth."

"It is a tribute to the people of Wales and to the dedication and skill of our economic development teams that Legal & General is yet another blue chip company to show confidence in the future of Wales."

Legal & General is moving into 70,000sq ft of office space in the centre of Cardiff. The new base will be half a mile from its existing call centre in the city, where around 700 people will work by the end of this year.

The company's chief execu-

tive, David Prosser, said that Cardiff had beaten off competition from as far afield as Southern Ireland to land the jobs boost. "Our decision to expand in Cardiff reflects the good experience we have had since we opened our first office in the city in 1986."

He said most of the new jobs would be full-time and would include a wide range of financial and accountancy posts.

Mr Prosser added: "Our business has grown 30 per

cent per annum and it is on the back of that growth that we are expanding the operation."

BMW Rolls-Royce Aero Engines won the order from Gulfstream Aerospace Corp for a further 200 B770 engines to power its Gulfstream V ultra long-range executive jet.

BMW Rolls-Royce Aero Engines is a joint venture between BMW and Rolls-Royce plc.

This brings the number of B770 orders to more than 650. Deliveries for the latest order are scheduled for early 2000 and until 2002.

In a further blow for Rolls-Royce, the company announced last night that it had won business worth around \$200 million (£125 million) from British Airways to supply upgrade kits for 108 engines to convert them to the new standard of RB211-524 engines for Boeing 747-400 aircraft.

AXA plays away across the Channel to reach for brand awareness goal

The FA Cup begins today with a distinctly Continental feel to it. Andrew Warshaw takes a look at the new sponsors

Euro Eye

FRANCE won the World Cup. Many of its cup-winning team play in England. What is more logical than that a French company should sponsor one of football's greatest institutions, the FA Cup?

For AXA, the insurance and asset management group, today's first round of this season's FA Cup marks the start of what the company hopes will result in a massive brand awareness campaign. AXA has taken over from Littlewoods, the football pools company, having signed a £25 million deal over four years with the English Football Association.

The company had been sponsoring Sunday League

cricket for the last six years but switched their attention to the FA Cup as soon as they knew that Littlewoods, the first backers of a competition which had previously fiercely resisted sponsorship, was not renewing its agreement.

"Football is enjoying a renaissance, particularly since the World Cup, and we believe the FA Cup is the perfect opportunity to build our brand awareness," said Les Owen, chief executive of AXA Sun Life, the life pensions and investment section of the group in the UK. "Although cricket attracted a lot of interest, we didn't feel it was the right vehicle any longer to move forward." He conceded that the commitment is something of a risk, especially if too many top teams are knocked out too early. "But it was a hard-nosed business decision and our research indicates it will be money well spent."

But does the public really notice or care whether the FA Cup is sponsored by a football pools company, an insurance group or a gathering of refuse collectors from Outer Mongolia? "Look, we do not expect im-

mediately to go out and sell policies, that's not the first goal," says Mr Owen. "You can't expect people who watch football to necessarily buy your product. The initial phase is simply to build brand awareness."

"Thereafter, our research shows that we will get better response rates if the consumer has an affinity with us than if they have never heard of us at all." The plan over the next three years is to increase the group's name awareness from between 10 and 15 per cent now to 75 per cent, a massive leap. AXA is confident that backing the FA Cup will get the group's name ingrained in the public consciousness along with more recognisable brands such as Prudential and Standard Life.

France is AXA's biggest market in terms of turnover. Is it not strange to make such a heavy investment into England? Owen conceded that the board did need to be persuaded that it would see a decent return. But once convinced, the group's headquarters agreed to fund 50 per cent of the £25 million, the other half coming from the UK-based companies.

AXA, Mr Owen points out, has a workforce of 110,000 in more than 50 countries. "The FA Cup has a worldwide audience of 100 million people and we are a multi-national company. Obviously Paris

Hampson, said losses at the time of Andrew Millar, sacked



Arsenal lift the FA cup in May. Now AXA hopes to benefit from the winning spirit

asked us a few questions but they quickly realised the potential."

It is understood that AXA, which had pre-tax profits of £289.9 million in 1997 and revenue of £37.87 billion, beat off two other companies to replace Littlewoods and paid £5 million more than the football pools organisation did for a similar period.

But it was not just the money that convinced the

FA to accept AXA's bid. Part of the deal was that AXA would also invest heavily in women's football and promote the sport at grass-roots level. Sources say approximately £4 million will be used this way.

"They are clearly prepared to make a huge investment in the game across all levels," said an FA spokesman. "They really seem to want to do more than just promote their brand."

Bilton family £80m richer after selling to Slough Estates

Jill Treanor

THE Bilton family sold its stake in the property company which built its name yesterday, making its members nearly £80 million richer and securing victory for Slough Estates, which had staged a hostile bid.

Until yesterday, the board of Bilton had rejected the £276 million offer and fought a fierce defence against its larger rival.

However, the board gave up its fight yesterday, the last day of the bid, after the Glenhazel Investment Trust, which controls the interest of the Bilton family and charity, was bought by Slough.

Glenhazel controlled some 29.4 per cent of Bilton's shares. 5 per cent of which were owned by the charity named after the company's founder, Percy Bilton. By selling to Slough, the trust effectively clinched the battle for Slough.

By yesterday evening, Slough was in possession of 89 per cent of Bilton's shares.

Percy Bilton died in 1982 and, under the terms of the trust, his children — Donald, who resigned from the board after the bid was announced, Derek and Hazel — receive the yield from the shares.

While Bilton had argued it was worth \$400 per share, the final offer from Slough amounted to cash and shares of 313.5p or a cash alternative of 307p per share. Slough's share price fell 4 1/4p to 381 1/4p yesterday.

The Group of Seven unveils the Brazilian rescue package
Page 11

Pepper adds spice to drink war

Roger Cowe
finds a British firm with the bottle to challenge Pepsi and Coke

KARIN Bledsoe is having a party tomorrow at her home in Dallas, Texas. It is a regular get-together for family and friends. But this weekend the group is an unwitting beneficiary of the cola wars in the USA. The British chocolate and drinks group, Cadbury Schweppes, is preparing its own kind of party as it tries to strengthen its position in the most valuable but most vicious soft drinks market in the world. Cadbury owns Dr Pepper Seven-Up (DPSU), the third placed player in the US City drink business, is trying to compete with Coke and Pepsi, and aims to do that more effectively by building its own bottling network, just like the two big drinks groups. The process began earlier this year with an innovative \$720 million (£436 million) deal to create the Chicago-based American Bottling Co (ABC). The British interloper in the all-American business of sloshing down gallons of sugary water is now energetically trying to bring more independent bottlers to the party.

Ms Bledsoe knows nothing of all this. All she knows is that she loves Dr Pepper, and for her party she has been able to buy it at an unprecedentedly low price — 88 cents

(about 50p) for a two litre bottle, then 50 cents off that with a special coupon.

"We all love Dr Pepper. I can drink Coke but I hate Pepsi," she said. "Normally for these parties I get five 24-can packs, but when I saw the price of 88 cents I thought I might as well get the bottles."

Not that the cans were expensive at the new Wal Mart hypermarket in The Colony, a new development among the vast Dallas/Fort Worth "metroplex", at just \$1.97 for 12 of the standard size — about 10p per can. But when you are buying so many soft drinks, you may as well take advantage of the bargains — something Cadbury has in mind for its bottling build-up.

Wal Mart is notoriously cheap. But a standard price for a two-litre cola bottle in most US cities is just 99 cents (about 58p), more or less the same as it has been for the last eight or 10 years.

This low price is partly explained by Americans' astonishing capacity for fizzy drinks. They drink about 900 cans a year each, more than three times as much as in the UK and a higher per capita consumption than anywhere in the world.

Those volumes mean it is a good business to be in, and every slither of market share is fiercely fought over, especially between the two cola



Soft sell... an array of drink machines offer a huge choice to thirsty Americans in a typical shopping mall and (below) the headquarters of Dr Pepper Seven-Up in Plano, Texas

giants. "Giant" is no exaggeration. Between them Pepsi and Coke sell \$30 billion worth of the sticky brown liquid around the world each year. Coca-Cola spends \$5 billion a year on marketing. Pepsi is spending \$100 million in the US to launch its new low-calorie Pepsi One. The two are locked in a fierce legal battle, with Pepsi alleging monopolistic practices by its rival in the important "fountain" business — restaurants and similar outlets where cola is dispensed from a tap.

Against this background,

Cadbury's intervention seems particularly foodbarmy, given its dismal attempt to compete in chocolate against Mars and Hershey which ended in surrender years ago. David Kappler, finance director of Cadbury Schweppes, is quick to point out a key difference: the group has not attempted merely to strengthen its Schweppes operation organically, but has also built up by acquisition. This began in 1986 with the purchase of Canada Dry and Sunkist, a collection of browns from Procter & Gam-

ble, then A&W, the leading root beer and culminated in the £1.6 billion purchase of DPSU in 1995.

This has bought Cadbury 15 per cent of the US soft drink market — puny against Pepsi's 33 per cent and Coke's 37 per cent. Cadbury's answer is that it is not intervening in the cola wars. Dr Pepper, its biggest brand, is fizzy, fruity and brown but not a cola, and the company went to court to prove it. The legal victory meant Coke and Pepsi were both happy to sell Dr Pepper through their distribution chains, along with the other DPSU brands.

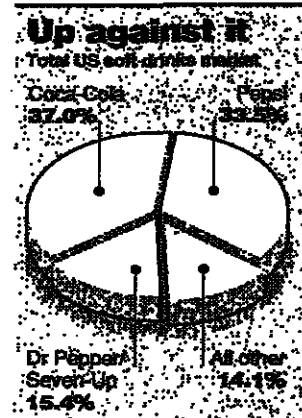
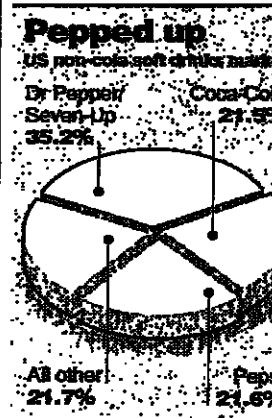
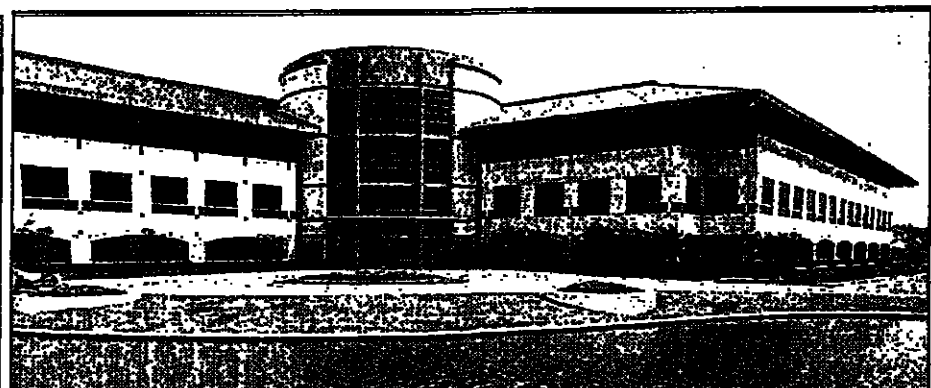
On that basis, Cadbury is not competing with the big two at all, but co-existing with them. The trouble is that, astonishingly for one of the world's most sophisticated consumer markets, the way fizzy drinks get to consumers in the US is a terrible mess.

"I just couldn't believe how complicated the relationship is between the brand owner and the bottling companies," commented Richard Beardon, the English head of ABC. "I describe it as being like a bowl of spaghetti."

The strands of spaghetti are the links between the brand owners and the bottling companies which produce the stuff and get it into the shops. The brand owners merely manufacture the syrup. The bottlers do the rest. The tangle of relationship stems from the way the original developers of the products sold them.

Dr Pepper did not invent the drink which bears his name. He gave a job to the man who did, an Englishman, Charles Alderton. When Alderton's business partners set out to sell their invention beyond Texas, they copied the approach of other soft drink barons, such as Asa Candler who put Coca-Cola on the map. They sold geographical franchises.

This enabled them to



spread distribution rapidly around the US, and eventually abroad. But it resulted in the spaghetti bowl, entangled further as the ownership of brands changed and consolidated into just a handful of key companies.

For example, ABC covers territory across 15 mid-Western states, from the Dakotas to Ohio. But this territory is pockmarked with districts where it does not control some DPSU products, because the franchises are still held by other companies. Some bottlers who deal with Coke or Pepsi products also handle Dr Pepper, 7-Up, and the company's other products. In fact 80 per cent of Dr Pepper sales go through the rival systems.

Driven by a desire for simplicity, the "red", Coke, and "blue", Pepsi, sought to purify their own systems by "flushing out" rival products, such as DPSU's Sunkist orange drink, which clashed with Coke's Fanta, and 7-Up, which competes with Sprite. As a result of this "ethnic" cleansing, the number three player had to find independent bottlers to take on these products. In the process sales slipped by 3 per cent.

But at least that process has tidied up some of the spaghetti. Dr Pepper remains well established in both red and blue networks. The Pepsi chain continues to sell large volumes of 7-Up while Schweppes does well through

Coke's. The rest of the brands are now concentrated in the independent network.

Coca-Cola and Pepsi have been building their own bottling business to cover a large part of their sales and aiming to strengthen the remaining bottlers who distribute products elsewhere. Coke's bottler, CCE, is a separately quoted company, and Pepsi announced on Thursday that it is following the same route with a partial flotation of its bottling chain that could raise \$4 billion.

Cadbury Schweppes sees nothing wrong with copying the market leaders. ABC has been set up as a joint venture with a financial backer and will be floated off in due course with Cadbury retaining its 40 per cent.

The pace at which the independent system can be consolidated depends very much on the independent bottlers rather than on Cadbury. The company is doing its best. John Brock, managing director of Cadbury's global beverage business, said this week: "We want to be pro-active in helping consolidation. We are in discussion with all the significant bottlers." But he also stressed that the group would not over-pay. "Our view is that it will be a relatively long drawn out process. We are not going to rush it and do it wrong."

Quick Crossword No. 8905

Across

- 1 Vigorous (5)
- 2 Normal (5)
- 3 Without facial expression (7)
- 4 Neither garment (8)
- 5 Cleaner — overlook — fish (4)
- 6 Good reputation — consider (6)
- 7 Stays (5)

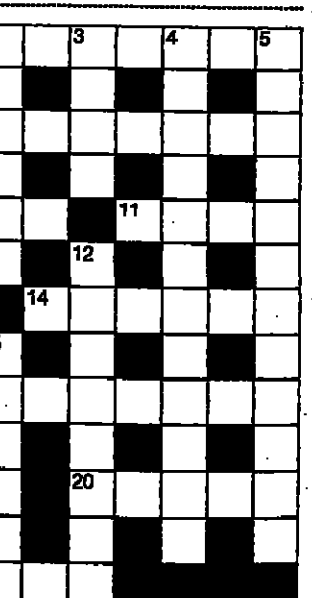
Down

- 1 Enrolled (8)
- 2 Undergo — tolerate (6)
- 3 Trendy clothes — something changed in a car (4)
- 4 Exercise a decisive influence (3,3,6)
- 5 Praise, compliment (12)
- 6 Be quiet! (3,3,6)
- 7 Unexpectedly (3,2,3,4)
- 8 Entertainer (8)
- 9 Winger — to mutilate (6)
- 10 Band — call (4)

THE GUARDIAN
119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3EP
Telephone 0171-276 2332
Fax numbers: 0171-837 2114 and 833 8342

In Manchester:
184 Deansgate, Manchester M60
24HR Telephone 0161-832 7200
Fax 0161-832 5361 and 0161-834 9717
Telephone Sales:
London 0171-811 9000
Manchester 0161-834 8966

Published by Guardian Newspapers Limited
119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3EP, and at
24HR Telephone 0161-832 7200
Fax 0161-832 5361 and 0161-834 9717
Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office
GSM 0261-3377 CE A5PFRST



NEWSPAPERS
RECYCLING
Recycled paper made up of 40% of the new material for UK newspapers by 1997



www.everything_i_need
to_get_online.com



BTClick+

is BT's new direct Internet
access service to the World Wide Web
which includes talk21, BT's new
free e-mail service for everyone
in Britain

- No commitment
- No credit card details required
- Pay as you go — local call charge plus 1p per minute
- Easy to install software
- Free news and entertainment from LineOne

Call today for your free software
Freefone 0800 731 7887
or visit www.btclickplus.com

talk21
free email from BT

Click+
Brings you closer

سكرا من الامم

Features

Why teens don't need role models
15



Books

Keep a diary, lose a friend?
16



Arts

Nancy Banks-Smith on Brookside
18



saturday

review

Saturday November 14 1998

How much do we need to know about the private lives of public people? Publicist **Max Clifford**, who manages scandals for a living, reveals where he draws the line

Privacy on parade



The British public are a demanding lot. They love a scandal, but they treasure their own privacy. They like to build a pedestal for people, but only so they can knock them off again. They want their politicians to be experienced leaders, and would like them to be good people as well. However, the days of expecting them to be purer than driven snow have gone.

But then, we usually follow the American way. Politics is increasingly about presentation and personalities, and less about substance. Everything is about image — which is wonderful for me because image-making is my profession — but the danger is that packaging becomes more important than policies. The way that we see politicians has changed dramatically over the last 10 to 15 years. They used to be mythologised. Now that the myth has been destroyed, they exist in a virtual reality.

I have some responsibility for that, with all the scandals I've been involved in — David Mellor, Piers Merchant, Jerry Hayes. I played a part in attaching the word sleaze to the word Conservative, and I'm proud of that. After the pain and suffering that the Conservatives caused to people through the destruction of the NHS, I was happy to contribute to their downfall.

But there is a difference between myth and reality. If you want idols, stick to Hollywood. If you want to believe that Rock Hudson was a ladykiller, go ahead — but he was gay and, understandably, he didn't want anyone to know about it because it didn't fit his image. If he had been outed earlier, that would have been bad luck. In my job, I would have had no problem perpetuating the lie that was his image, because he was a film star. It's like reading Hello magazine. It's nothing to do with reality but it gives a lot of people a lot of pleasure; escapism and romance — there's a place for those.

Stars don't have a God-given right to do anything they want. If I were representing a star, and I found out he was a paedophile, I would expose him. But if I found out that he was having an affair, I would protect him. I used to represent Freddie Starr, until I found out that he was beating his wife, Sandy, and then I was so disgusted that I represented her and their children. I wouldn't have represented Geoffrey Boycott unless I believed he was innocent.

I've never outed a celebrity for being gay. But I have arranged kiss-and-tell stories for gay stars to provide a more macho image.

This is the kind of stuff I deal with every day. The bigger the client, the more time I spend protecting them. I always tell them that unless I know more about them than anyone else, I can't protect them. Often I promote stars whose images are farcical. They might be gay masquerading as straight sex symbols, but I don't care. I have no problem creating false images for stars because they exist for amusement. They manipulate the media to put bums on seats or sell records, and they have to take the rough with the smooth.

There's no problem with photographers catching a pregnant Posh Spice and David Beckham on the beach, that's show business. The Spice Girls were a media phenomenon and publicity is mostly beneficial to them. They're fair game for journalists. Nobody has a right to know about their private lives, but investigations by enterprising journalists are an occupational hazard.

Politicians are very different from stars, and so are their rights to privacy. These are men and

women of power and influence whose decisions and actions affect our lives. In a healthy democracy, we should see them for what they are —warts and all.

If we feel strongly about an issue, like homosexuality or adultery, then we have a right to know if the person we vote for has a special interest in it. (I have no problem with either. Dozens of my clients and friends have been either gay or adulterers — occasionally both.) Knowing about a politician's life informs us about their beliefs.

Where do you draw the line? There is no general rule: you have to take each case on its merits. Often what people want to expose is hypocrisy. Take Jerry Hayes, the ex-Conservative MP who had an affair with one of my clients, Paul Stone. Paul came to me — all my clients have come to me, I've never gone to them — and alleged that Hayes had unprotected sex with

him (he was then under-age) on the first night they met. And Hayes was a member of the all-party committee on Aids. Or consider David Mellor, who had an affair with my client, Antonia de Sancha. If you sell yourself as a family man and talk about family values, then people do not expect you to have affairs. If you do, then you're a hypocrite.

Ron Davies was a government minister out cruising for men — that could have led to blackmail, which could have compromised his ability to do his job. I would have been justified in making that information public if someone in the case had come to me.

I have no problem creating false images for stars because they exist for amusement. They're fair game for the media

But that doesn't mean that I would take on every sexual revelation about a politician. If someone came to me, said they were having an affair with Nick Brown, and I thought they were being vindictive, I wouldn't take them on. At least four times someone has come to me to sell a story about a politician and I've said no. I've looked into it and seen that the person accused didn't use their family to get elected, or make hypocritical speeches about family life or homosexuality; then I called the accused person and warned them to be careful about the accuser.

Politicians know how it all works and are happy to play the game. They protect themselves with spin doctors — the Alastair Campbells and Peter Mandelsons — to make sure the public receives

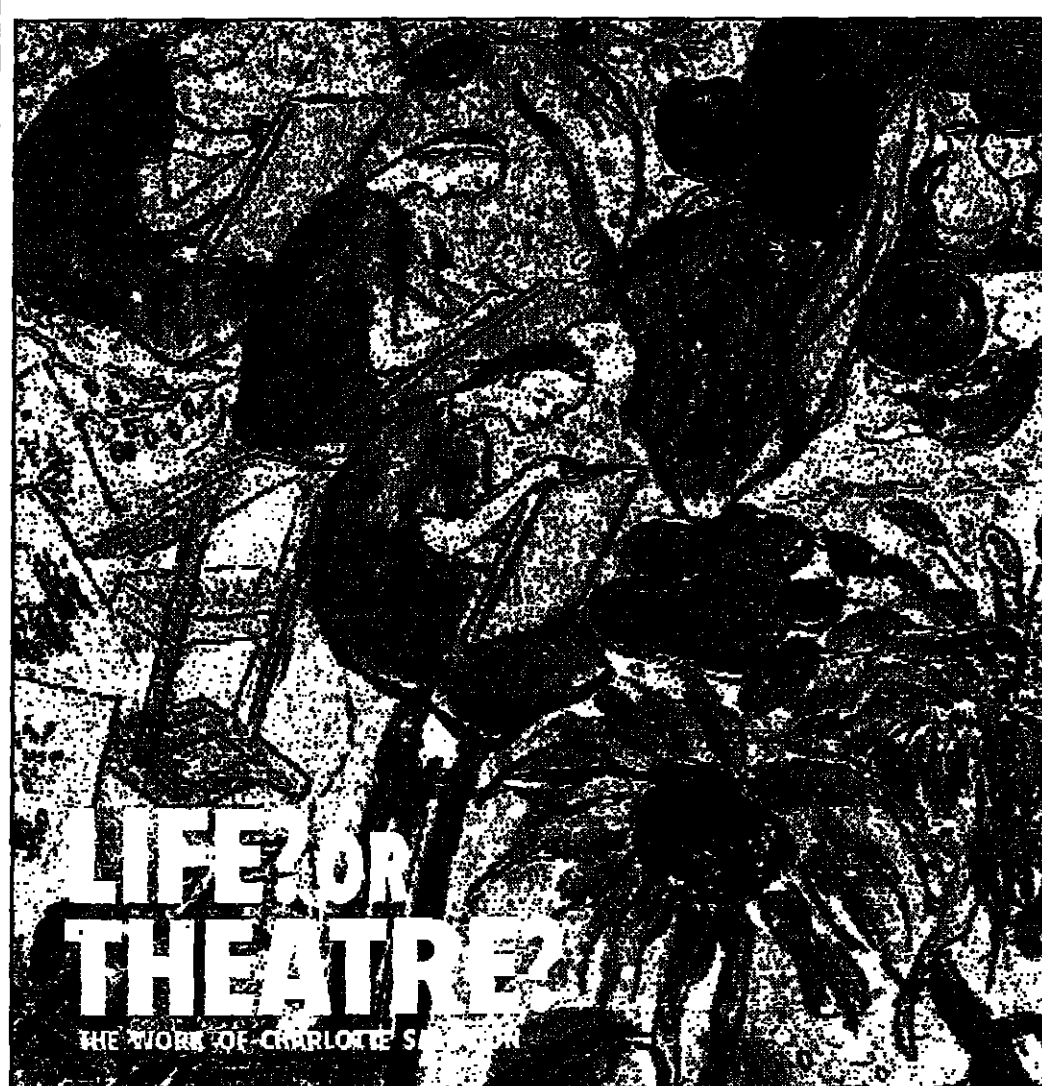
the right message in the right way at the right time.

They usually do it brilliantly, as in Nick Brown's case. Occasionally, as in Ron Davies's case, they make a complete hash of it. He was breaking the law. If you say that a cabinet minister has resigned because of a serious lack of judgment but don't say what that lack of judgment was, then you look ineffectual. The media investigates and the drama builds up into a crisis.

The public may be more demanding now but it is also more forgiving, understanding and tolerant than is generally credited. Just because we all want to know more about a politician's private life, it doesn't mean that we are going to punish them for what they've done unless it's wrong — and we make up our own minds about that.

Take adultery. Nearly one in two marriages end in divorce. People have affairs. We know that. I have no problem electing a known adulterer; I don't think that because someone is an adulterer they can't do their job properly. But if they keep it a secret or are hypocrites, they compromise their position and make themselves vulnerable. When the secret is exposed, you have to deal with it quickly and honestly.

When Robin Cook's marriage broke up and he had a relationship with his secretary, nobody thought that reflected on how well he did his job. When Paddy Ashdown was found out, he put his hands up, came clean and was quickly allowed to carry on with his career. He became more popular. **page 14**



LIFE? OR THEATRE?

THE WORK OF CHARLOTTE SALOMON

Charlotte Salomon was born in Berlin in 1917 into a cultured and assimilated middle-class Jewish family, and died in Auschwitz in 1943 at the age of 26. 'Life? or Theatre?' is the name she gave to an extraordinary series of nearly 800 paintings she produced between 1940 and 1942. Subtitled a 'play with music', it combines images, texts and musical references to recreate a life scarred both by family tragedy and Nazi persecution, yet interspersed with many moments of intense happiness and love.

Royal Academy of Arts
Piccadilly, London

Until 17 January 1999 (closed 25 December)
Open daily 10am to 6pm and

Fridays until 8.30pm

0171 300 8000 for further information

Collection of the Jewish Historical Museum,
Amsterdam © Charlotte Salomon Foundation



Strong defence, but how are they in attack? RUC blocking Orangemen in north Belfast

PHOTOGRAPH BY KELVIN BOYES

Should nationalists play the RUC at sport?

Yes **No**

Ian Paisley Jr
Democratic
Unionist
politician



Mark Thompson
Relatives
for Justice



Donegal Celtic, a nationalist football club in West Belfast, has won through to the final of a cup competition against the RUC, and despite pressure from republicans intend to take the field today

Ian a chara,
The Royal Ulster Constabulary has been indicted for serious human rights abuses by our community and throughout the world.

In West Belfast, the RUC is guilty of intimidation, harassment, threats, torture, beatings, collusion with death-squads and murder. We, the relatives of those killed by the RUC, are testimony to its human rights abuses. Unlike other groups which caused death and injury, the RUC remains unapologetic and unaccountable.

It is in this context that the RUC should be seen. The sporting world should have no place for organisations like the RUC. Nowhere else would a community be expected to field a team against such an organisation. It would not be acceptable in any society, particularly one attempting to emerge from a conflict in which the RUC was a major protagonist.

Those who organise the competition should ban groups which have been responsible for murder. This would allow the unhindered participation of all other legitimate teams.

In the past week, many commentators have passed judgment on this issue, particularly those outside our community. They have said politics and sport do not mix; let it be clear, it is the RUC and those who organise sporting events which involve the RUC who are mixing sport with politics. Donegal Celtic hasn't killed people and committed human rights abuses.

The Donegal Celtic team has asked the RUC to stand aside from today's match. The RUC refused. This game should now not be played.

Is misle meas, Mark Thompson, Relatives For Justice (a group representing families whose members have been killed by the security forces)

Dear Mark Thompson,
Bertrand Russell, the philosopher and ardent pacifist, once said: "Few people can be happy unless they hate some other person, nation or creed." Your organisation, Relatives For Justice, has demonstrated over the past few days that you are capable of hating all at the same time. You display a blindfolded approach to life. Your arguments are sterile. You have no generosity of spirit and are without compassion. You are fighting a lost cause.

The RUC wishes to extend the hand of social friendship across our divided community. Donegal Celtic Football Club appears willing to accept. The RUC wants to be inclusive. You want to sit in the corner. You want to be exclusive. You represent what happens to a person who gets caught up in the politically-inspired emotions generated by violent Republicans.

Your organisation has no desire to see the divisions and hatred in Northern Ireland diminished. The Relatives For Justice group is a front organisation for the words and demands of IRA/Sinn Féin. Real victims have no interest in your stupid arguments.

Victims have their grief, and your deliberate exploitation of it at the behest of Gerry Adams is disgusting.

The unfounded attack on the RUC is a diversion. Many of the players in the RUC team are not members of the RUC. They are, like Donegal Celtic, sportsmen put under intolerable pressure, and even threatened, by people who support the arguments of Relatives For Justice.

The match will go ahead. I am sure you have plans to disrupt the match. Already players feel intimidated but let's let the root for football not fanatics.

Yours Disgusted,
Ian Paisley Jr,
Assembly Member

Ian a chara,
To the relatives of those killed by the RUC opposing this game is perfectly legitimate. We feel that the future will be used mischievously, by cheerleaders of the RUC, to confer legitimacy on this discredited force. We feel that, at a time when the RUC is under the scrutiny of the UN Special Rapporteur and when Chris Patten is chairing a commission to deliver accountable and representative policing, such an encounter is wrong. The existence of the commission is political recognition that the RUC has failed. To play the game now is to throw the RUC a lifeline.

Rather than face up to the reality of RUC actions and support efforts towards building a police service which respects human rights and is for all the people of our country, you prefer to insult and to diminish our loss. You take the easy option. This is in line with your opposition to inclusive peace talks, your absence from the peace negotiations and all-party agreement, and your campaigning for a No vote against a democratic peace settlement based on that agreement. Thankfully, the majority of us voted yes.

Recently, you led a group of people who have also suffered from our violent past and referred to us as innocent victims. You exploited their loss in an attempt to block political progress. Our group has contact with over 300 families, and the delegation of relatives which met Donegal Celtic came from seven local families — including those of a 12-year-old girl, a 15-year-old boy, a mother of three and a father of two — all shot dead. Are these families innocent victims? Do they deserve truth and justice? Our group recognises the pain and suffering of every family which has buried a loved one because of this conflict. We do not distinguish between victims, even though the RUC is an armed force which has acted against us.

The relatives group fully embraces change. We hope to see new democratic and accountable structures for the first time and avoid the mistakes that have left us bereaved. It is in this wider context that we oppose the game.

Do you acknowledge the families bereaved by the actions of the RUC and British Army?

Mark

Dear Mr Thompson,
You claim that the football match is being used in a "mischievous way". You and your front organisation are the ones using it for mischievous and scurrilous reasons.

This football match has nothing to do with the legitimacy of the state or the institutions of the state. Only a fool would give it such prominence.

The vast majority of people in Northern Ireland were not even aware of the football match until you and your front organisation opened your mouths about it. By doing so you have shot yourself in the foot. Firstly, people now realise the bigotry and the intolerance is from your organisation that would deny people and sportsmen the civil liberty of playing football. Secondly, because you have drawn so much attention to the game it must now go ahead.

Your tactics have backfired miserably. In fact you must feel like a right clown. Trying to prevent a trifling football game because of sectarian hatred of the police is the policy of a narrow-minded person. Next time you should think before you leap — or were you pushed? To claim that it will throw you a lifeline to the RUC is a joke. The person who needs a lifeline is you!

You further claim that the RUC is a discredited force and your outlandish claims about what they have done are wrong. Firstly the RUC is one of the most highly respected police services in western Europe. The only people against the RUC are those who are against Northern Ireland. Over 300 RUC officers have been brutally killed in Northern Ireland, mainly by republican terrorists.

The IRA has killed 277, the INLA and the IPLO 12, and loyalist terrorists seven. Terrorist groups have bombed, shot and beaten RUC officers to death. The RUC is a force of gallant servicemen and women. It has protected an entire community with impartiality and professionalism. It is an irreplaceable force and has been the bulwark between chaos and order.

I know many people will be concerned why you would wish to undermine policing generally. Are you seriously saying that Northern Ireland would be better served by paramilitary forces running around dispensing their form of brutality on people — beating, knee-cappings and all manner of brutality appears to be what you are offering.

I think you owe the public an assurance that you will be campaigning for a real peace. That you will publicly call on the IRA/Sinn Féin to stop the knee-cappings and to lift the threat that has already been placed on the lives of some of the sportsmen who are to play today.

Ian Paisley

Smallweed



Seeing a touching picture the other day of that grand old campaigner Lord Jenkins

Kennedy "sharing a birthday" with Lulu, the singer, I fell to wondering what they'd have had to talk about over their candle-lit dinner, stroll round the Avebury stones, or whatever. Disappointingly, closer inspection showed it was two separate photographs, printed together because both were born on November 2.

There's a missed opportunity here. I have often thought how nice it might be to share my own birthday with others born on that day, which in my case falls in mid-February. This would enable me, if sufficiently rich, to convene a dinner party featuring Robert Altman, Gordon Brown, Cindy Crawford, Jimmy Greaves, Mike Leigh, Kevin Maxwell, Sidney Poitier and Imogen Stubbs. If such schemes are too grand, one could fall back on têtes-à-tête. On November 3, for example (the same day as Lulu and Ludo), Lord Biffen, Conservative politician, could link up with Ian Wright, footballer. Other possible combos: on November 6, Nicholas Maw and Art Garfunkel; on November 9, Tony Slattery and Healy Lamarr. In cases involving Labour politicians, of course, all such arrangements would have to be vetted by Suitability Panels.

It's odd to read so many reports suggesting that the Jenkins Commission favours a switch to PR. The Alternative Vote, the bedrock of its proposals, is no more proportional representation

than Lord Jenkins is a typical reader of the Sun. The Australian system, which involved a form of AV, has just produced a result in which Labour took 51 per cent of first preferences, but still lost. Jenkins and co. recommend a corrective element by having a minority of parliamentary seats filled on a strictly proportional basis; but even that, though a sensible compromise, wouldn't amount to PR. In his ever-helpful way, Smallweed would like to suggest that from now on, in the interests of accuracy, the Jenkins system should be described not as PR but as LDR: Less Disproportionate Representation.

Noting the influx of overseas players into British football at the start of last season, Smallweed forecast — satirically, as he naively supposed — that before long the teams in a match between Arsenal and Chelsea would line up like this: ARSENAL: Seamus; Voa; Molke; Zollweiser; Schaden-freude; Wellenachamung; Zeitgeist; Lindendorf (capt); Roentgen; Doppelganger; Hindenburg; Zimmer. CHELSEA: Rellen-tando; Monet; Manet; Bellini; Balzac; Gounach; Adagio; Nuance; Tortellini; Bonifabaisse; Wise (capt).

Let me now draw your attention to the team sheets for the Arsenal-Chelsea cup tie on Wednesday. They were these: ARSENAL: Manninger; Vivas; Upson; Grimsand; Grondin; Ljyberg; Hughes; Garde (sub). Chelsea: Bon-Mort; Bergkamp (sub); Caballero; Wech. CHELSEA: Kharaner; Petreson; Labouff (sub); Lambourde; Duberry; Babayaro; Goldback (sub); Percassi; Di Matteo; Nicholls (sub); Clement; Poyet; Vialli; Flo. Fact has not quite caught up with fantasy yet, but it's not far behind.

The affair of Michael Portillo's piece in the Telegraph, calling for a tougher Conservative line on Europe, confirms all that was said about him in this column last week.

Forced to put out a statement clarifying his position — that's to say, explaining that he hadn't set out to pillory William Hague — Portillo was said to have told his friends he had no idea that anyone would construe his article as an attack on his leader. Either that statement is false, in which case it's a gross hypocrisy, or else it is true: in which case it suggests a degree of naivety which ought to open the eyes even of Tory right-wingers to their hero's imperfections; but no doubt it won't.

Someone asked the other day if the adjective "visceral" rang any bells with Smallweed. It's a word I have never used till today. I think it is mostly employed to mean "from the guts", as in "gut feeling". My dictionary says it refers to any organ within the chest or abdomen — heart, lungs, liver etc. A statistical trawl suggests that use of this word in the British Press ran steadily at around 50 sightings per month until September, when it suddenly shot up to 70. I have no idea why. The October total was 60. Assuming that present trends continue, and use of the word is not banned outright by some Suitability Panel, the November total looks likely to fall back to roughly 50. In other words, the peak viscerality period is probably over. Let us all resolve to keep it that way.

My thanks to a faithful reader in Leeds for pointing out an essential fact about Gérard de Nerval which I unaccountably missed when I finally roped him in a couple of weeks ago to my 1998 collection of Peskibids (People Everyone Else Knows About But I Don't). Can you guess (he asks) who climbed the Pyramid of Cheops and found that a Piccadilly boot polish manufacturer had inscribed a careful graffiti about his products on top? Yes, or Gérard. What a great man! But one, I am sorry to say, who would never have any chance with a Suitability Panel.

The Readers' Editor on... our editions abroad

Foreign correspondence

Ian Mayes
Open door



Two parts of the Guardian which some of you rarely, or perhaps never, see are undergoing interesting developments: our daily international edition, now called Guardian Europe, and the Guardian Weekly, a tabloid digest of news and features from the domestic Guardian with some pages made up of material from Le Monde, in English, and the Washington Post.

The purpose of the Weekly has remained pretty much unchanged since the first issue came out on July 4, 1919: "We aim at presenting what is best and most interesting in the [Manchester] Guardian, what is most distinctive and independent of time, in a compact weekly form. We aim at securing that the readers of the weekly edition shall miss nothing of substance in its record and nothing of value in its interpretation."

Over the past 80 years the Weekly has built up its circulation from 10,000 to something over 77,000 today, or 115,000 if you count the copies circulated with the Mail & Guardian in Johannesburg.

In the United States only, it still goes out as the Manchester Guardian Weekly, the last surviving regular acknowledgment of our place of birth. This may not last much longer. The title was apparently retained to distinguish it from another paper in the US called the Guardian Weekly, which no longer exists. Nevertheless, I suspect its

demise will be accompanied by protests from conservative East Coast academics, some of whom insist on referring to the Guardian in general as the Manchester Guardian.

Of the Weekly's main sales, 50,000 copies are mailed to subscribers and 25,000 picked up from newsstands. Some 5,000 subscribers take advantage of a free e-mail service giving them quick access to selected contents. Occasionally a plaintive request reaches the office of the Weekly's editor, from, for example, a reader on one of the remoter southern islands of Japan, asking whether something can be done to get his copy to him in less than three weeks. It can. The distribution and marketing of the Weekly are in the process of overhaul.

Potentially the most important development for a long time is the inclusion once a month, for a trial period of three months, of 16 pages of Le Monde Diplomatique, already published in several languages, but now for the first time making a significant foray into the English-speaking world. Two editions have appeared and the third will form part of next week's issue. The Diplo's speciality is serious analytical journalism with a European perspective which seems like the perfect complement to the Guardian Weekly.

The readers of the Weekly appear to love the Diplo. In fact, the Guardian has just committed itself to going ahead with a longer-term relationship, and there will be a special offer in next week's Weekly for readers who want to take the Diplo in future. When the editor of the Weekly asked his readers — brainy cosmopolitans, 70 per cent of whom speak at least two languages — to let him know what they thought of the Weekly with the Diplo, nearly 500 replied immediately and in very enthusiastic terms. Among the first Weekly subscribers to vote in favour of the Diplo arrangement was one of

the French newspaper's recent contributors, Naomi Chomsky. I am, you may have gathered, a great fan of the Guardian Weekly.

The idea is that with the redefinition of our daily international edition as Guardian Europe, the Weekly becomes our main wider global representative. The daily international edition of the Guardian, in any case, always did sell mainly in Europe, with a very thin spread around the rest of the world. By the beginning of next year it will have focused properly on an expanding Europe and withdrawn from the rest of the world. From early next year, the principal cities along the east coast of the US and Canada will receive the domestic edition of the Guardian.

Guardian Europe, like the Weekly, also has a highly intelligent readership about a quarter of whom are foreign nationals who welcome the paper's British view of the world — it styles itself Britain's newspaper for Europe — or who use it to improve their English. The executive editor responsible for the recent changes, extra pages and the introduction of colour, sees them as a preliminary face-lift, heralding a period of continuous expansion and development with a much greater commitment by the Guardian to its readers abroad. He is particularly keen to argue for the resources that will enable the editor of Guardian Europe to carry the developments through.

One of the practical reasons for the paper's sharper interest is that Guardian Europe sales count as part of our general circulation — a stimulating thought.

Guardian Europe readers, who get this column in their Saturday paper, can now talk to the paper directly at the following e-mail address: guardian@guardian.co.uk and inquiries about the Guardian Weekly can go to its editor patrick.onsor@guardian.co.uk. Readers may contact the office of the Readers' Editor by telephoning 0171 239 6589 between 11am and 5pm, Monday to Friday. Fax: 0171 239 9887. E-mail: reader@guardian.co.uk

Privacy on parade

Page 13 The same would have happened to President Clinton if he had taken PR advice rather than legal advice. His lawyers told him to deny the Monica Lewinsky allegations; that's what he did and it dragged on. My advice would have been own up and say you have to make peace at home. When he finally admitted what he had done, he found the American public far more understanding than he expected. People are more interested in what happens to their jobs than in who is having sex with whom. What matters is success. If things had been going badly for him economically, it would all have been different.

When Jack Straw's son was

arrested on drugs charges, we didn't criticise him. Most people were impressed by the way he handled it. What really matters is openness and honesty. Being an openly gay minister has not caused problems for Chris Smith. But keep things a secret and there is the chance that you will be exposed — and people will wonder what else you have been lying about.

That doesn't mean that the media should be able to print what they like just to sell newspapers. People have been destroyed on the whim of a national editor — that's going too far. They were destroyed for reasons having nothing to do with truth or hypocrisy — just circulation-boosting. The onus is on the media to act responsibly.

But this is a complicated area. What is legitimate if you get a result is a witch-hunt if you don't. When you hear accusations that a Cabinet minister has been giving rent boys presents for sex, then it is right for a newspaper to investigate them in the public interest. But if you don't turn up anything,



Protected species... Princes William and Harry are safe from the media—at least until they're 18

then you shouldn't publish unfounded allegations. The responsible thing would be to turn the results of the investigation over to the Government.

I'm always amazed when the public complains about the excesses of the press. I often ask people what article they are complaining about

and find that they will quote all the sordid details. People go on about privacy and intrusion but the most popular paper in the country is still the News of the World, and I don't think people read it for the politics. They read it because it taps into a strange part of the British character. The Americans don't understand

this. If you have a nice car in America, everyone says: "I'm going to get a car like that one day." If you have one here, people want to scratch it. We are very jealous of success.

If you don't like a paper or a story, don't buy it. It's as simple as that and the most effective regulation. The Press Complaints Com-

mission is doing its job, but it doesn't have the clout that it should. Lord Wakeham might have studied newspapers for a few years, but it's not too difficult to pull the wool over his eyes.

To work, the Commission needs ex-editors on it — people who don't have to answer to anyone but know the game. I would like to see journalists like Paul Foot involved, someone who understands the business, has stood up and been counted, and doesn't have to suck up to a Rupert Murdoch or other power figures.

The situation improved slightly when the public expressed disgust at the press after the death of Diana, Princess of Wales. Not because of anything the PCC said about ethics, but because they knew it didn't clean up their acts. It was self-interest. They did the right thing for the wrong reasons.

So Princes William and Harry have been shielded from intrusive journalism, which is right. But when they turn 18, and start going

out with girls, the gloves will be off again. Fine. That's justified public interest, and they should be extremely well protected from the media. They will have PR minders, and if they have their mother's instincts, will enjoy the media coverage and will instinctively handle it far better than their predecessors. The only people who need protection from the media are ordinary people who are labelled and cannot get legal aid to defend their reputation.

Many of those in positions of power in this country have got away with an awful lot because they have people to protect them — lawyers, accountants and spin doctors. Privacy legislation would just make it easier for all that to continue without them ever having to answer for what they do.

I know because it's my business. I protect stars and keep them away from bad press, and depicting where problems will be and helping clients avoid them. The media is a minefield. I'm a mine detector.

سكرا من الامير

010 017 04



Which of these would you prefer your kids to follow?

Emma Thompson's got the right idea, says **Angela Phillips**. No youngster would be seen dead with a Government-approved role model



After me... (clockwise) Madonna, Geri Halliwell and Emma Thompson
MAIN PHOTOGRAPH: ALAN REVELL

It used to be called setting a good example, now they talk about role models but it is just a change of language. The message is still the same: if only we could get young people to copy the people we want them to become, rather than the ones we wouldn't invite to dinner, then everyone would be happy.

Perhaps it is a long time since these particular government strategists were themselves teenagers. That may be why, in their new role of super-parent, they think that by giving a group of young stars the Government seal of approval, working-class boys and girls will immediately want to emulate them.

If government approval really worked we would have had a generation of young men falling over themselves to live celibate lives and devote themselves to Christ in the manner of Cliff Richard. After all, what are knights for, if not to set a good example?

Back in the days when a man

just knew what a man's gotta do, Sociologist Talcott Parsons developed role-model theory. He saw children as empty canvases painted into being by identification with same-sex parents: pink parts delicately copied from mummy while the blue was presumably plastered on with a pallet knife in the hour spent washing the car with dad.

By the seventies, these ideas had become rather more complex. Clearly, other people had an influence too. Why, otherwise, would a girl whose mother was a doctor declare defiantly (as they did) that doctors are boys and nurses are girls. Bewildered feminists produced posters with pictures of mummies in white coats with stethoscopes, or building walls and sewing wood, in the hopes of providing different roles for girls to identify with.

Troically, feminism itself provided the clearest contradiction of any simplistic interpretation of role theory. Here was a mass of young women whose only role models

seemed to be firmly chained to the kitchen sink, who nevertheless managed to imagine for themselves a very different picture of adult life. Of course they were helped by the political and social mood, which made rejection of the past the mood of the moment, but it was also because young people don't merely ingest what they see and hear. They are not the passive recipients of their roles, they are active partners in their own development. They create themselves through a complex network of relationships both positive and negative, close and far, friends and family — as much by rejecting as by accepting the ideas of others.

Of course young people do worship icons but the ones they choose are not of their parents' world. They are shinier, richer versions of themselves: people who do the things they wouldn't dare to do, not something that has been stamped "By Appointment to Her Majesty's Government". Would Madonna

have had the same effect on a generation of young women if she had been attending White House press briefings rather than making music videos which dripped with sex? Young women were thrilled by the fact that she could subvert the whole concept of a "slag" and turn it into something powerful.

They loved her for her brazen wickedness, her ability to be what they wouldn't dare to be. Only those who had a very insecure sense of their own identity actually tried to ape her. It is the fact that the icons young people choose appear to have such power that makes them such a tempting target for those who want to spread a message. They think that Geri Halliwell can "get through" to working-class girls in ways that government ministers cannot. But, as Emma Thompson — whose reaction to being signed up as a government role model, was "an over-

whelming desire to go out and score a load of cocaine in rebellion — clearly understands, the propensity of the young to reject what is overly thrust upon them will ensure that Geri will lose power by association.

Which is fortunate because, if there is one thing that kids, male or female, black or white don't need, it is yet more bright and shining images peddling unattainable dreams of instant fame and massive wealth.

Young people who are surrounded by real-life models of adults, who interact with them and take an interest in them, can see modern icons for what they are. They love them but don't expect to become them. It is the young people who lack real, interactive models of adulthood to emulate who are most likely to be damaged by being encouraged to identify with people they don't know, whose real-life struggles they will never hear about. Some will be girls but even more of them are likely to be boys. According to Victor Siedler,

professor of social theory at Goldsmiths College, "There is a difference in the way in which boys and girls relate to icons; girls already have relationships with adult women. Boys often don't have relationships with adult men. In the absence of those relationships, masculinity is a fantasy construction and these icons of fame provide images of an unreal world in which men are rich but don't have to work for anything."

Harnessing football heroes to the cause of anti-racism on the terraces may be a good idea — an anti-racist fantasy hero is better than a racist one — but what about the rest of the baggage? What marks out modern heroes is mostly their money. What can the average teenager learn from a football hero, or a millionaire singer, about the pleasures of independence, about going to college to earn the qualifications which may lead to

a job worth more than £3.50 an hour? If big bucks and a glitzy lifestyle, earned through a dash of talent and a lot of luck, are held up as things to aspire to, things that mark out the Real Men from the boys, then why waste time on a boring low-paid job — you may as well smoke another joint, curl up on the sofa and watch TV until your luck changes.

Learning to be a successful human being is something that happens on the ground, between human beings: parents, teachers, mentors and friends. People who listen and take an interest. The trouble with icons is that they don't talk back, they can't tell you you've got it wrong, that you have to start at the beginning, that it isn't so much luck as hard work: they just stare down and smile at you. So perhaps it is just as well that Geri Spice won't be hanging on many young women's walls much longer.

Who would want to be seen dead sleeping with a government-appointed role model?

Fast food conquered the world but Slow Food is hitting back.
Alessandra Stanley reports

Gourmets who refuse to gallop

Chewing it over... (clockwise from top left) tasting wine; sampling tiny drops of antiseptic vinegar; preparing a dinner in the style of the old German region of Swabia
MAIN PICTURE: JAMES HILL

The English will kill each other to protect animals. The French fight to the death to preserve the purity of their language. Italians, however, rarely get indignant about anything, except food. Few other nations, for example, have so passionate a grassroots movement to preserve endangered species of cheese and protect vegetable rights.

"Plants have a soul," playwright and Nobel prizewinner Dario Fo warned a rapt audience last week at a conference on Biodiversity and Genetic Species on the Verge of Extinction. "They have feelings. And some are assassins, using poison to destroy."

Fo is one of the intellectual pillars of Slow Food, a food and wine organisation created 13 years ago by an Italian journalist, Carlo Petrini, as an antidote to fast food. Both men were expecting more than 100,000 people to attend Slow Food's Salone del Gusto, a five-day food fair drawing epicureans dedicated to the languorous enjoyment of slowly prepared regional delicacies.

Petrini became radicalised when he entered the Piazza di Spagna in Rome and smelled mass-produced French fries wafting from the country's first McDonald's.

Slow Food, which was begun by a group of leftist intellectuals disenchanted by politics and disgusted by the fast-food trend, has recently become fashionable in Italy and in continental Europe. It is even catching on via the Internet with American food and wine connoisseurs.

There are now 40,000 members in 35 countries. Slow Food's manifesto warns against "obsessive worrying about hygienic matters" and pledges to preserve such endangered foods as Friuli apples from Greece and Sicilian *lattume di tonno*, sperm of male tuna.

If Salone del Gusto, held in a giant convention centre which was once a Fiat car factory, boasts 300 regional food stands, with free samples, 50 gourmet dinners and 525 workshops on everything from "Cooking in the Antipodes" to "Hungarian Fete Gras and Tokaji", (or Tokay, a white wine). It is to ordinary

food fairs what Republican national conventions are to New Hampshire political coffee mornings. Here, however, delegates vote with their forks.

"Feel how the fat gallops in your mouth," Piero Sardo, a cheese expert and co-founder of Slow Food, instructed 110 gourmands who signed up and paid £10 for last Thursday's workshop, "Strong Cheeses and Sweet Wines". He was commenting on a Stilton, served with a Greek port wine. His students, seated at conference tables behind six tasting glasses and a plate of cheese labelled by number, swallowed obediently before nibbling a French Roquefort, which they were informed, contains "noble" salt levels.

Food is not just good at these workshops, it is dripping with history. *Real Iberico*, a Spanish ham, comes from a breed of pig, *Cerdo Iberico*, which is the direct descendant of the Mediterranean boar. Uncontaminated by any crossbreeding, raised in the Dehesa, an ancient Mediterranean forest and fed on *la bellota*, a kind of acorn, the *Cerdo*

Iberico is a kind of "thoroughbred swine," according to Giovanni Pellinghelli del Monticello, a consultant to a guild of Iberian ham producers, who delivered the lecture.

"We will never know what the Bolognese Louis XV drank really tasted like," he said sadly, referring to phylloxera, a disease that destroyed European vines in the late 19th century. "But this pig is an uncontaminated breed, its ham today has exactly the same taste it had when it was eaten by Charles V of Spain."

French, British and American history buffs are known for their re-enactments of famous battles.

"This pig is an uncontaminated breed. Its ham has exactly the taste enjoyed by Spain's Charles V"

Italians prefer to dwell on the great meals of history. Actually, so do their American acolytes. Patrick Martins, a Slow Food activist based in Eira — a food-obsessed town in Piedmont, Italy — wrote his thesis at New York University on Medieval Food Sculptures, which, among other things, involved molding asparagus into a giant chess-set.

Fo and others complain about multinationals, which have steadily reduced the world's varieties. At the turn of the century, there were 20,000 varieties of rice in India. Now, there are only 12. But the public also prefers convenience, speed and lower prices. "Our real enemy is the obtuse consumer," Sardo said.

Yet at the Salone, even among the initiated, there were some Slow Food recidivists. Lorenzo Molinacci, 42, who makes Panforte di Siena, a sophisticated bread of fruitcake, was discovered at lunchtime wolfing down a pre-fabricated prosciutto sandwich at the Antigrille, an Italian fast-food outlet inside the convention hall. "What else

could I do," he said sheepishly. "I'm very busy and I had to go somewhere and eat fast."

Post-modern food tastings at the fair were provided by theatre director Silvio Panini, who created a *deglustazione teatrale*, in which the diners, wearing earphones and seated at stark steel tables, sample tiny drops of balsamic vinegar and minimalist morsels of parmigiano while a performance artist recites sensual eating instructions.

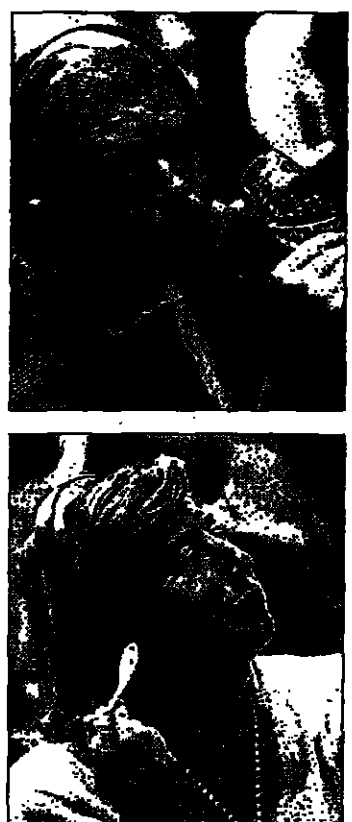
In many areas, it is also a dying art. Lard from the region surrounding Carrara, which was the basic food for the marble workers who supplied Michelangelo, is in danger of extinction, according to Slow Food. "Pigs today are small and too meaty, everyone wants pork-lite," complained Marino Giannarelli, 50, whose family firm, Lardo di Colonnata, produces a small amount of extremely thick, succulent lard.

The *Caciocavallo Podolico* is a rare, fragrant cheese from the Campania region, which relies on finicky free-range white cows,

who will only give milk if their calves are standing near them, and even then, only a few litres a day. "You have to be a hero to make it," Sardo said. "And also a bit crazy."

A kilo of *Caciocavallo Podolico* costs £28 — three times as much as more ordinary varieties of *Caciocavallo*. To raise consumer consciousness, Antonio Madaio, a processor from Eboli, has begun selling three-pound balls of his cheese in wooden trophy boxes, with a certificate attached.

Participants ranged from Jonathan White — an artisanal New York cheese-maker who makes butter for the White House — to some of the world's most high-minded chefs. Miguel Sanchez Romero, 45, for example, is a neurologist who, on weekends, cooks Spanish nouvelle cuisine at his restaurant, L'Esguard, in a small town outside Barcelona. He was one of three chefs selected to prepare a three-course £110 gourmet meal for 36, which included a dish of egg and caviar inspired by Van Gogh's Sunflowers. — New York Times



books

Designs on disaster

Keep a diary, lose a friend?
**Susannah Frankel and
A N Wilson on poisoned pens**

The Ossie Clark Diaries
edited by Lady Henrietta Rous
102pp, Bloomsbury, £20

Ossie Clark dressed the sixties. He wore self-styled collarless "Bea-uties" suits long before John, Paul, George or Ringo ever thought of such a thing and claimed to have conceived the miniskirt before either Mary Quant or Courrèges got a look in. Name a Swinging London celebrity of that decade and, for that matter, most of the next, and Ossie Clark was, at least in part, responsible for their look.

Whether he turned his hand to manipulating body-sculpting snakeskin or diaphanous chiffon he cut cloth in a way that few others have ever been able to before or since.

Then there was the David Hockney connection, which served to add more glamour still to the equation. Ossie Clark and his girlfriend, the fabric designer Celia Birtwell, were inseparable from Hockney when Clark and Hockney were at the Royal College of Art together in the school's glorious heyday.

So it should have been a great moment for British fashion when this month saw the publication of the long-awaited (and, for any possible subject of his famously vitriolic pen, nervously anticipated) *Ossie Clark Diaries*. A two-part South Bank Show documentary on the designer was screened to coincide with its publication.

Unfortunately, both book and film chart the terribly sad demise of the designer rather than his meteoric rise. Celia Birtwell, who married Clark in 1969, was wisely reluctant to see the *Diaries* published at all, let alone in their often thoroughly unpleasant entirety. Her sons, the legal recipients of their father's work — spurred on by Hockney who thought the designer's story should be told — thought otherwise.

Following the initial screening at the Royal College of Art of the South Bank Show profile of Clark, Henrietta Rous, the editor of the *Diaries*, felt the need to publicly announce that the film was a disappointment, and in need of re-editing. It dwelt, she thought, rather too fully on Clark's drug abuse and his sordid casual sexual encounters, on his downfall rather than his genius as a designer.

But despite Rous's protestations and her undoubtedly worthy intentions, the book suffers from just the same problem as the film. What's more, in the book, Ossie Clark condemns himself, at great length, and entirely in his own words.

The designer comes across, for example, as appallingly racist.

"She's a typical Jewess with bad skin and I suspect halitosis [though I never got close enough]." "Got dressed and went to Henrietta's for a party with her Indian sister-in-law... Drank a lot and had to refrain from making Air India joke — there were so many there."

As his marriage to Birtwell broke down — largely because of his drug abuse, not to mention repeated infidelities with other men — the relationship became increasingly violent, both emotionally and physically. "I beat her and kicked her and her nose was a bloody mess."

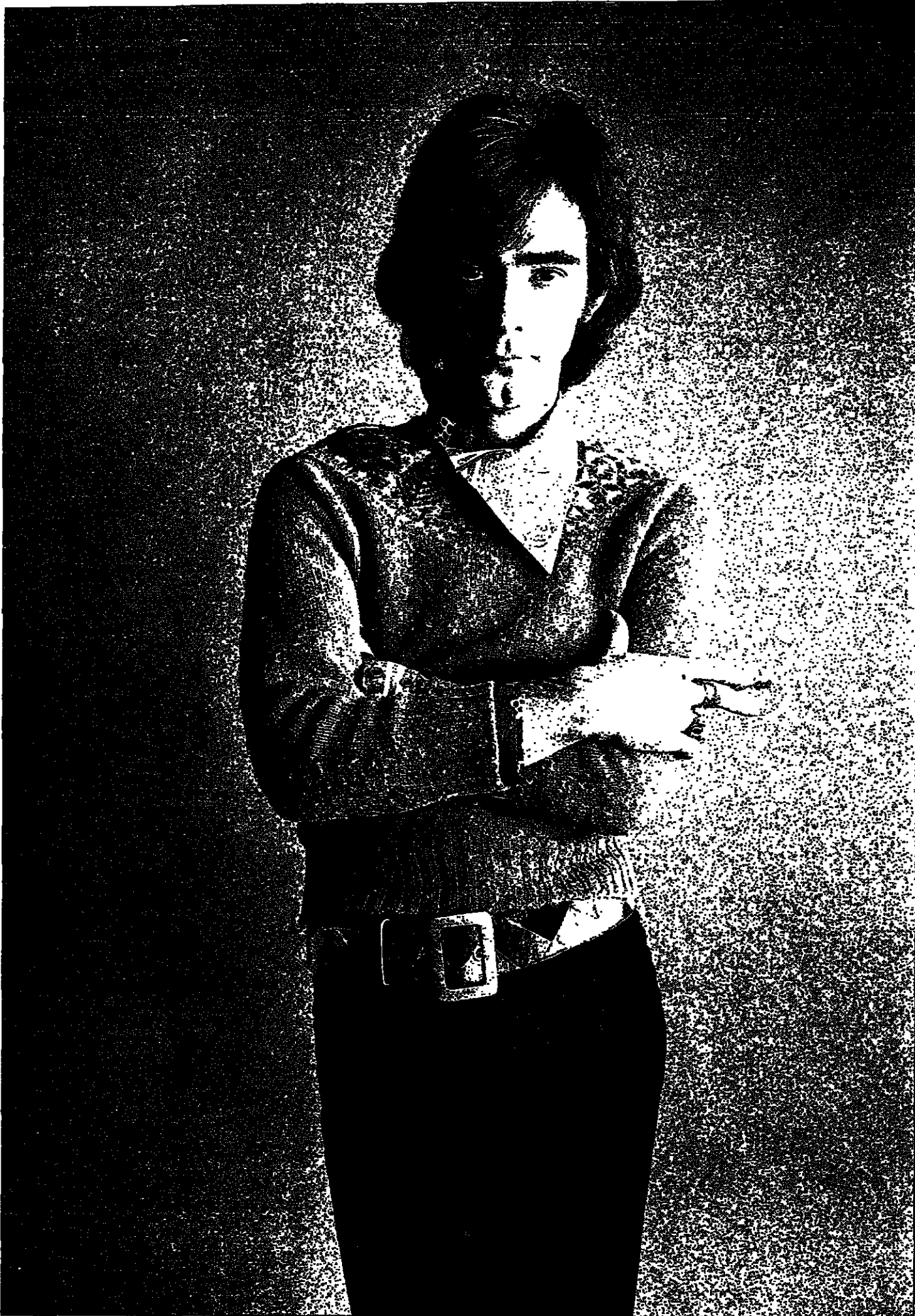
Tales of the casual sexual encounters towards the end of his life — how he caught crabs, for example, and couldn't afford the lotion to get rid of them — are legion. They make for harrowing reading, not only because Clark was terrified by the spectre of Aids but also because they illustrate how passionately Ossie Clark hated himself — more than he hated anybody else in his life, and he was a prolific hater. "I picked up a guy, not young or handsome and he asked if I had a place. We were on our way home when he caught sight of me full-face under a street lamp. 'I don't think I'll bother,' he said."

The relentless misery of the book is due, at least in part, to the fact that Clark's journals for the glory years of 1976, 1977 and 1978 are missing. He had talked to Bloomsbury in 1988 about publishing them but they were unable to go ahead with the project as Ossie Clark was an undischarged bankrupt and so couldn't sign a contract. In the knowledge that his writing might one day be published he summed up his early life in 30 happy retrospective pages up until 1974 where the diaries proper begin and he declares himself "as famous as egg yolk".

From there on in, however, the book deals with his tragic disintegration both personally and professionally — right down to his being forced to rely on Salvation Army kitchens for food and up to his brutal murder by his lover, Diego Cogliato, on August 6, 1996.

In the end, the *Ossie Clark Diaries* are a lamentable case of too much information on all fronts — from Clark's endless assassination of himself and those he associated with to the frankly laborious footnotes (there are 219 for 1974 alone).

Ossie Clark was one of this century's greatest fashion designers, an inspiration to all young people with a yen to travel to the capital and dare the beautiful people to wear their clothes. The fact that the diaries and a flagrantly sensational documentary are, for the time being, all he has left behind him is perhaps the greatest tragedy of all.



Ossie Clark... posed in a Celia Birtwell scarf and his favourite patchwork belt

PHOTOGRAPH BY ALBERT AND GEORGE CLARK COLLECTION

The List

The Word From Paris, by John Sturrock (Verso, £18)

A very fine collection of essays on 20th-century French intellectuals, rewritten from the TLS and LRB originals. Divided rather brashly into "Thinkers" and "Writers", it nevertheless results in the textual pleasures of critics like Barthes (brilliantly described as "a feral literary thinker going too far for the sheer pleasure of it"), as well as the philosophical pleasures of Queneau and Perce. The judgments are deliberately playful and provocative — it might seem arch to criticise Derrida for publishing too little "in prose recognisable as being that of a methodical thinker", especially as Sturrock has recently defended Luce Irigaray's barking characterisation of Lacan as a sexist equation (because it supposedly privileges "that which goes faster", ie the speed of light, whereas if the equation privileged anything at all — which by definition, however, equations do not — it could only be energy, to which everything else reduces). Put this on your bookshelf next to Sokal and Bricmont's *Intellectuals*, don a beret and slippers, and sip absinthe as you watch your library burn down.

Fictions of Business, by Robert A. Brauer (John Wiley, £14.95)

What, like free-market capitalism is manageable and good for the planet? Not exactly. This book promises "insights on Management from Great Literature". Run out of rivets on the Congo? Read Conrad and everything will go swimmingly. I don't think so. In fact, it's a bit of a cheat. Brauer analyses scenes of emotional persuasion and bullying very nicely, but nearly all of his literary examples are American and explicitly concerned with business anyway (Miller, Mamet, *The Last Tycoon*, *Something Happened*, etc). Presumably if more managers read great literature the world would indeed be a better place, but the grossly reductive concept here is thoroughly depressing.

Cracking Animation, by Peter Lord & Brian Sibley (Thames & Hudson, £19.95)

This'll cheer you up: a beautifully illustrated unpacking of the plasticine-modelling, stop-frame methods used in the studios where the mad hobbits who make the Wallace and Gromit films work. Fanatical analysis of mouth shapes for different vowels and consonants, the many stages of a seemingly ordinary walk, camerawork and sets, and lots of wonderful hand-drawn storyboards. The step-by-step how-to section on "Making a Sheep" is particularly inspirational.

The Voice of Calm, by Paul Wilson and Jim Reece (Columbia Records, £3.99)

If you enjoyed *The Little Book of Calm*, you can now buy the CD version, in which author Paul Wilson raps in a Walrus of Love voice over sick New Age funk twiddling, which gradually mutates into sick New Age ambient soup. "It's OK to enjoy being calm," raps Wilson, while a woman yowls breathily in the background ("Make love... ooh, so calm!"). The fact that this made me want to smash my CD player into thousands of glittering shards ("Sweep away the clutter," Wilson raps ominously), can only mean that I am pathologically cynical and unenlightened. Who will help me now?

Solid Objects: Modernism and the Test of Production, by Douglas Mao (Princeton, £32.50)

Forbiddingly neo-Marxian title belies the beautifully rigorous close readings of Woolf, Wyndham Lewis, Pound and (especially) Wallace Stevens that furnish the sinew of this literary-historical thesis. With the high modernists' urgent affirmation of production and technological power, Mao argues in his little grey book, also came worries about the limits of that power, and the idealising of an objective world that might exist beyond any possible manipulations of human consciousness. The "hardness" or "coldness" of much modernism is thus argued to arise not from machismo or fear but from a sort of wistful fact in the face of the noumenal.

Eye On The World, by Gavin Young (Viking, £20)

From the spectacular cover shot of the moon over Cape Horn (a lunar global pepper), the ex-Observer foreign correspondent and author of *Slow Boats To China* talks through the photographs he has taken throughout his peripatetic life. Extraordinary "mood snapshots" in Saudi Arabia, muddy shots of Borneo jungle villages where Conrad passed, desolate tableaus of Vietnam, all stirred together in fine prose that mixes still-fresh outrage with comic anecdotalism and melancholy remembrance. **Steven Poole**

Confessions of a bitch in a bow-tie

The Journals of Woodrow Wyatt, Volume One: Confessions of an Optimist
edited by Sarah Curtis
748pp, Weidenfeld, £25

A N Wilson

Woodrow Wyatt, the News of the Screws pundit, Chairman of the Tote, and for 20 years a Labour MP was only a "famous" figure in a Lilliputian London circle. He was dismayed — this diary tells us — that his *Memoirs (Confessions of an Optimist)* "had an almost entirely London sale, hardly anybody bought it north of Watford". This fact might have made him revise his estimation of himself in the scheme of things.

He was a jolly man, and if you lived in London and wrote books, as I did, you were almost bound to come across him. He had been a good TV presenter, one of the pioneers of Panorama. And, like a lot of lefties, he enjoyed high life, good wine, womanising and going to the races.

He seemed the walking embodiment of the truth that buffoonery is an essential ingredient in the middle-class social-climber's

armoury. His pseudo-Churchillian voice, his absurd bow-ties, his Edwardian raffishness all seemed, and were, the most ridiculous act. No doubt they amused the Royals, and the ducal families, and the mega-rich newspaper proprietors among whom this genial cove, somewhat mysteriously, chose to spend his time.

Why anyone should want to spend so much time among people strophically richer, and stupider, than himself, is a mystery, alas, which these rather feeble diaries do not answer. For what you discover, quite early on in their pages, is a terribly depressing fact: namely that Woodrow took himself seriously. During the weekly telephone calls to Margaret Thatcher, as far as the reader can tell, he did nothing except flatter her ego. But from the diarist's Walter-Mitty point of view these are conversations of immense significance. He believes that he is directing events, rather than providing a sycophantic commentary upon them: "A long talk with Mrs T. Congratulate her on her yesterday's robust speech..." etc. The blurb on this book promises "a contemporary Pepys". Instead you get: "I once more urged on her that she should try to make the privatisation of gas

much more competitive within itself than British Telecom had been."

The political interest of the book is nil. Woodrow was a potentially clever man who sold his soul to the devil, aka Rupert Murdoch, and had no influence on the really rather ghastly politicians whom he chose to cultivate. He knew, when he was penning and secretly selling the diaries, that their chief commercial value would be the Royal angle. As a Chairman of the Tote (who, incidentally, barely knew one end of a horse from the other) he became friends with the Queen Mother. At one point we find him lunching with the editor of the *Spectator*, who asks him to write a memorial to the Queen Mother when she dies. "I'm not sure I really want to capitalise on the Queen Mother," he tells his diary. "Maybe it should wait until this manuscript is published, if it ever is."

The juiciest bits of the old lady's table-talk — her enthusiasm for apartheid and her love of Mrs Thatcher — have already been serialised in the papers. For the most part, all they exchange is trivial badinage. "Several times she says, 'You're looking very natty today. I like those gold buttons. I am wearing a new blazer

... When I said goodbye to her she seems quite disappointed: 'I do so enjoy talking to you. I say, 'I adore it' and kiss her...'" Well, it says "hand" in the text.

Kindly about Thatcher and the Queen Mother, Woodrow is a complete bitch about almost everyone else, "shopping" his aristocratic friends for their marital infidelities, their alcoholic excesses and their greed. To judge from these prolix pages — over 700 of them — this jolly old cove never made, and seldom heard, an amusing remark. There is only one funny joke, and it is made by the Duke of Devonshire. For the most part, the pages are a vulgar catalogue of how much things must have cost his various hosts and friends. Fine vintages, cars, houses, women, even the first editions signed for him by Kingsley Amis, are relentlessly costed. So, too, are his wife and daughter.

"I'm not in financial difficulties but dresses cost a lot," he moans to Rupert Murdoch, when he wants more money for his *News of the Screws* rubbish. Most of the accounts of his wife in this book (she was forbidden to see it, by the terms of his will, before publication) make her ridiculous. We have her blurting out to the Queen Mother that the central

heating is bust and that is why it is so cold in their house. We watch her, accident prone, try to avoid setting off her burglar alarm and falling off the back of a sofa; we watch her breaking limbs in Italy on the hired marble floors of their villa, and smashing priceless lamps from Chatsworth. A Hungarian, whose looks have been inherited by their daughter, the journalist the Hon Petronella Wyatt, Lady Wyatt figures heavily in the illustrations. Presumably the dresses worn in these photographs were extremely expensive. But both mother and daughter, as depicted, look like Magyar trapeze artists who have run away from the circus in order to become air hostesses. Their Chanel outfits look like BOAC uniforms.

It was always in the discrepancy between the effects he hoped to achieve and the impression he actually gave that Woodrow's charm lay. He was a funny, and delightful companion. Truly. But you wouldn't guess it from these pages. The disarming revelation is that he was genuinely impressed by money and rank for their own sake, that he was almost completely philistine; and that in his adulation for Mrs Thatcher he lost not merely his

judgment but his humour. Almost the most depressing thing in the book is the readiness with which he accepts Davidoff cigars, wine, clocks and money from Abdul Al Ghazzi, who by general consent should never have been allowed to ruin Hovingham Hall in Suffolk. Wyatt, a schoolmaster's son who claims to be descended from the famous architects, should have been particularly sensitive to the aesthetic outrages perpetrated by Mr Al Ghazzi. When, in the Lords, Al Ghazzi was attacked by Robert Blake and others, my Lord Wyatt tottered to his feet. "I rounded on Abdul's critics and said we ought to be grateful to him instead of vilifying the poor man." It is not clear who "we" are supposed to be, but presumably the pronoun covers all those who have received boxes of "magnificent Davidoff cigars and a huge bottle of Remy Martin champagne cognac".

At another point in the tale, "Debo Devonshire gave me a false smile and a false kiss and put her arm round me saying, 'Uncle Woodrow' in a loud voice. I felt how much she didn't like me." By now all the readers find themselves in the unlikely position of knowing exactly what it feels like to be the Duchess of Devonshire.

150 من الاميل

It didn't have to be perfect

William

Buy any

Andrew O'Hagan on the passion played out on West Forty-third Street

It didn't have to be perfect

Here But Not Here: A Love Story
by Lillian Ross
240pp, Faber, £12.99

One day George Eliot wrote a letter to her friend Mrs Bray: "If there is any one action or relation of my life," she wrote, "which is and always has been profoundly serious, it is my relation to Mr. Lewes." The action was simple: to love him, a married man, an editor of the *Leader*, and to then be encouraged by that love, by the cares and the cautions of deep affection, to make herself into a novelist. But simple isn't the same as easy: theirs was a union without legal or social recognition. They lived how they could, and they made arrangements, and they did their work with honesty and love.

Lillian Ross went to work at the *New Yorker* in 1945. She was already a good reporter with a friendly attachment to facts, but the *New Yorker* was a certain kind of magazine, and although there were a few women around, they were only allowed to write "notes", which they handed to a rewrite man, usually Brendan Gill, who put their words through the type-writer to make them sound male. A lot of the people on the magazine were idols to the young Mrs Ross. There was Joe and Joe (Lillian and Mitchell), humane, beautiful

writers both, and there were editors like Katharine White, who was dedicated to every sentence her writers put down, and William Shawn, who became the editor, and would almost sob if you spoke the names of his favourite contributors.

"Every morning," writes Lillian Ross, "on my way to West Forty-third Street, I couldn't contain my excitement over my good fortune to have become part of that place." The young reporter fell in love with her job. And over time, and several hurdles, she fell in love with William Shawn, the man who made her job what it was. Shawn was complicated, not only in his manners — shy and introverted — but also in his character — depressive, regretful, existentially troubled.

On top of all that he was married with children. But he and Mrs Ross had similar feelings for one another, and they made them last for 40 years. "Was I a dope?" asks Ross. "Was there a vacancy in me? Why was I not beset with guilt or with resentment — about the woman who remained Bill's wife?" The answer to these difficult questions is that Shawn and Ross would never allow themselves to become adversaries. They wanted to be lovers. They were open-minded and gentle, and never free from a little pain. The same can be said of Mrs Shawn, who put up with all this, and who had the character to let it be as it was.

Lillian Ross has found a way to honour every player in this local



William Shawn... editor, husband, lover

drama. She has brought all the dignity of her feelings for Mr. Shawn to the writing of this tender story. She is a writer after all, and a very, very good one at that. Her love of Shawn was forever tied to her love of reporting. Here she brings the two loves together, one last time, in a manner that is so unusual, and so honest, that one can only welcome the appearance of this careful, restorative book, and wish there were more like it. Lillian Ross has had a marvellous career; here is a book that lights up her work, and enlarges our sense of the woman behind it,

a woman of spirited devotions.

Some American commentators would appear to wish that these good people had lived their lives differently, or that Lillian Ross had stayed quiet on this central relationship of her life. But Mrs Ross has proved herself more equitable than her critics, and more willing to seek truth in the face of convention.

"The theoretical formula for my life that I had automatically absorbed from my parents," she writes, "seemed to have become a bit altered, but in the reality of my life, I felt I was living it anyway. It never bothered me that I didn't

have a 'Mrs' attached to my name. I never thought of myself as a 'mistress', a term that to me still carries with it an image of a heavily massaged woman in a coney movie, wearing a negligee and sitting around sulking and painting her fingernails."

Lillian Ross was not the type: she was curious to see what you could do as a reporter, and she went out to the world and watched, and took notes, and sat at her desk writing up her pieces. She became one of the best writers the magazine ever had. She wrote a brilliant profile of Hemingway, and a long story about the making of a movie, John Huston's *The Red Badge of Courage*, which later became the book *Picture*.

She wrote hundreds of witty, funny bits of journalism, the sort of writing that the editors loved to publish, and which the readers loved to read. In the Sixties she adopted a baby, Erik, whom she and Shawn doted on. Shawn would read him articles from the *New Yorker*, sitting on a sofa in Ross's apartment, then he'd fold the magazine away, kiss the Rosses good night, and walk ten blocks to his other life.

It wasn't perfect, but they knew that too. Mr. Shawn grew old knowing it, and he died knowing it. But it is clear from Lillian Ross's book: the life they had was glorious nonetheless.

It would be a big mistake to lump this book with all those other books, like Joyce Maynard's treacherous account of JD Salinger, Adele Miller's hysterical memoir, or little Miss What's-Her-Name's poor reminiscence of kissing Saul Bellow full on the mouth. None of those avengers could write for toffee, and none of those books were written for love, or for art.

Lillian Ross has done what she has always been doing: she writes carefully of something she came to know, and does so with all the decency that is native to her, and with hopes of making her peace with the truth. She has none of those women's feline maliciousness, none of their muck-raking fury. She only has love, the love of Mr. Shawn, the care they brought to the pages of the *New Yorker*, and a kind of faith, now breathing through the pages of this lovely book.

When the brain is damaged it tries to rebuild its 'circuitry'. With strange results, explains Ian Thomson

Ghosts in the machine

Phantoms in the Brain: Human Nature and the Architecture of the Mind
by VS Ramachandran and Sandra Blakeslee
328pp, Fourth Estate, £17.99

After an unexplained fall, I had an emergency brain operation in one of Rome's less salubrious hospitals. I'd been discovered on the floor with — in best Hitchcock tradition — the telephone dangling off the hook. The *corbinieri* thought I'd been coshed. Handprints of blood had covered the walls and congealed in the hall where I lay unconscious. Surgery for an impacted fracture and resultant haematoma — a swelling composed of blood effused into the connective tissues of the brain — had left me with a cranial cavity the size of a healthy tangerine. Now I was strapped to a trolley like a headless man, the fall and (with any luck) rise of a Rome patient.

The quantity named Dottore Miles (Dr Spleen), who performed the operation, cautioned against the cavity. "You are missing some bone and therefore less thick-skulled than before," he said, and suggested a silver plate to protect my neural circuitry. (For fear of picking up radio signals, however, I opted for a plastic one). We still have no clear idea how the human brain works. It was hardly the Berlitz method, but my Italian had become unaccountably fluent after the injury. Some questions about the brain are so mysterious, so deeply enigmatic, that many scientists simply avoid them.

Quirks of the human mind, however, fascinate Dr VS Ramachandran. *Phantoms in the Brain* is one of the funniest and most original books on neurology ever written. The author is a leader in the field of brain research yet he remains gloriously accessible to the layman. (Sandra Blakeslee, a well-known American science writer, has helped to iron out some of the big words).

Like Richard Dawkins, Ramachandran continues a tradition of scientific writing from Galileo to Darwin which vanished earlier this century with academic specialisation. It is only recently that science has become, in publishing terms, sexy and pop again. The French would call it *haute vulgarisation*, high-class popularisation.

Written with humility and intelligent generosity, *Phantoms in the Brain* grips from start to finish. The book is based on Ramachandran's own experiences with neurological patients and takes us to the limit of scientific enquiry. A man loses his arm in a motorbike crash yet continues to feel it moving. Another patient experiences orgasm in his (amputated) foot during sex.

Instead of dismissing these conditions as mere clinical curiosities, Ramachandran believes they provide valuable insight into how the

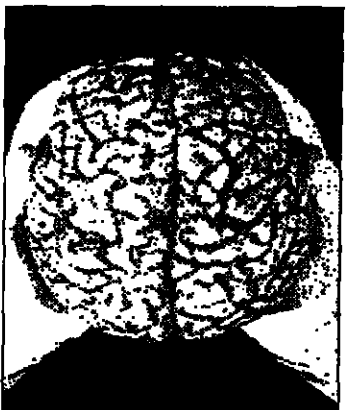
human brain operates.

In response to injury, says Ramachandran, the brain reorganises and re-maps itself, altering the circuitry which most neuroscientists still believe was laid down in fetal life. Lord Nelson experienced the most compelling phantom limb pain after the loss of his right arm; his neural connections were creating a new script, trying to make sense of the pain of the injury.

Another of Ramachandran's patients developed a blind spot in the visual field after a catastrophic head injury. When he looked directly at the lavatory sign WOMEN he failed to see the "W" and "O" and entered with embarrassing consequences.

In the Roman hospital where I lay recuperating, a young Tunisian called Mustah was not right in the head after a car crash. Mustah believed his mother and sister had been replaced by duplicates who looked exactly like his real siblings. Was he suffering from Capgras' delusion, a colourful syndrome caused by damage to zones in the brain which specialise in face and object recognition?

Some neural damage is darkly hilarious. In 1931, relates Ramachandran, a London



Hands on a brain... but small grasp on its mysteries

plumber attended his beloved mother's funeral only to start giggling as the gravediggers lowered her coffin. Eventually he staggered off among the gravestones loudly guffawing. That evening the same plumber died of severe arachnoid haemorrhage. Brain damage that sets us giggling inappropriately is usually located, says Ramachandran, in the hypothalamus area. Death by laughter might have resulted when I was interviewed for a job in London after the cranial plate had been fitted. Melvyn Bragg was reading the previous candidate's application when he looked up. "Good God! What have you done to your head?" This time surgery had left me without any hair, exposing a gruesome scar. Needless to say I did not get the job.

Dr Ramachandran is to be congratulated for writing thrillingly about the deep architecture of our most precious mysterious organ. In every respect, *Phantoms in the Brain* is a superb introduction.

Can you visit a place mentioned in myth? John Mullan follows a pilgrimage east of Gondar

William Boot revisits his scoop

The Mountains of Raselias
by Thomas Pakenham
176pp, Weidenfeld, £25

In 1955, the 22-year-old Thomas Pakenham, at a loose end after graduating from Oxford, set off on an expedition to Abyssinia — Ethiopia, as we now know it. He was looking for a place from myth, a mysterious mountain called "Wehni" (meaning "prison"). It was said that, for centuries, the King's sons were confined on its inaccessible peak to keep them from challenging their father or quarrelling with each other. All their wants were provided, except freedom. When the king died, one of their number, selected as the successor, would be taken down from the eyrie. No European had ever found the place.

As the title of Pakenham's book suggests, this myth was behind Dr Johnson's fable *Rasselas*, in which the son of the emperor of Abyssinia escapes incarceration in the "happy valley" in a doomed search for a better life. The story of the Abyssinian mountain prison fit for princes recurs in literature. It supplied the idea for one of the earthly paradises listed by Milton in Book IV of *Paradise Lost* — "where Abyssinian Kings their issue guard... enclosed with shining Rocks". It appeared in the semi-mythical collection of voyages



King of the mountain... Thomas Pakenham (left) on his most recent visit to Ethiopia

from the early 17th century. *Paradise Lost* was written, out of which Coleridge claimed to have dreamt "Kubla Khan", suggesting the Mount Abora of which "an Abyssinian maid" sings in the poem. But this had always been a myth with some real place behind it. Johnson's mournfully ironical *Rasselas* had itself been inspired by his own first published work, a translation of an account of a journey through Abyssinia written by a 17th-century Portuguese priest.

What drew this Jesuit missionary, what first interested Dr Johnson, and what fascinated Pakenham, as he trekked with his mules over the Abyssinian highlands, was that this land of legend had an ancient Christian culture. Christianity arrived in the fourth century and developed in isolation, many of its rituals becoming indigenous to the country. Pakenham was visiting places where no European had been, but finding churches and frescoes, legends and ceremonies,

in which he recognised the ancient patterns of Christian belief, albeit long-adapted to local needs.

Pakenham first published this evocative, droll narrative of his sometimes gruelling Ethiopian journey in 1959. In 1998 he revisited the country, and has republished his original account, along with new photographs and some new commentary. He now reflects somewhat ruefully on the ingenious traveller of 40 years earlier. The narration comes

from a distant time (the 1950s) as well as a distant place. Sometimes the most appropriate literary reminder is of William Boot in Evelyn Waugh's Abyssinian-based *Scoop*. A hostile local potentate turns to affability when he finds that Pakenham is in Debrebet's. An ascetic monk who lives on the summit of an Abyssinian mountain gravely offers the author a near-sacred gift: a tin of Victoria plums.

Pakenham discovered that, in fact, there were, over the centuries, three different mountains on which the royal youths were kept, tended but imprisoned. He succeeded in visiting two of them, as well as stumbling on an unrecorded medieval church in a place called Behebean. He managed to locate Wehni, a thousand-foot pillar of rock in the high plateau East of Gondar, only to find that the precipitous stairway that once led to its summit had collapsed. Attempts to climb it failed. When he returned in 1998, even the most fearless helicopter pilot in East Africa refused to land on it. As he flew over the ruins on its peak, Pakenham saw that the place where Johnson imagined the princes of Abyssinia experiencing only "the soft vicissitudes of pleasure and repose" was, in reality, a grim destination — a "gulag in the sky".

Buy any six books for the price of five.

Until November 21st, whenever you buy any six books at Waterstone's the one with the lowest price is yours for free.

W
WATERSTONE'S
READ ON

arts

Perfect weekend

TODAY
11am Sophie Calle. Major retrospective. Site Gallery, Sheffield
3.30pm Little Malcolm And His Struggle Against The Eunuchs. Ewan McGregor takes to the stage. Hampstead Theatre, London
7pm Asian Dub Foundation. Lomax 2, Liverpool



SUNDAY
1.45pm Festen. Danish black comedy at the London Film Festival. NFT1
8pm A Minute Too Late. Theatre de Complicite perform for Kosovo appeal. Old Vic, London
10.30pm Sermon From St Albion's. Harry Enfield (left) stars in satire of Blair and his underlings. ITV

After a week of engagements in the soaps, **Nancy Banks-Smith** offers some advice Call the whole thing off

"I don't see what can go wrong now"
— The groom in Brookside

It still says Friday 13 was an unfortunate choice for a wedding. Particularly a Corkhill wedding, which always turns into something between Puss In Boots and Pulp Fiction.

So here we are in Brookside. Inside, Lindsey Corkhill is adjusting her tiara. Outside, two murderers are discussing wedding etiquette. "Oo goes first, the bride or the bridesmaids?" They are there to shoot the father of the bride, Jimmy Corkhill, and take a pride in getting it right.

"You're going to top him right here in broad daylight?" asks the nervous disposition and may be in the wrong job. "You've never heard of a shotgun wedding?" asks the first, who likes a good laugh. "You want to bride to look her best, don't you? Especially when she gets his brains splattered all over her nice... new... white... dress." Your immediate reaction is, what brains? Jimmy's head is mostly useful for stopping his ears banging together.

The *mise en scène* would make your blood run cold, if the gunmen weren't called Justin and Rufus. I do not blame them for this. They were in no position to protest at the time. As Pelham Grenville Wodehouse said, there is some raw work at the font. The reason Harpo Marx answered to Arthur was that his real name was Adolph. Having said that, it is perfectly clear that you can't have killers called Justin and Rufus. Broke's men ("We're in, Justin!"), possibly. It's going to be Puss In Boots, not Pulp Fiction.

There is more action at the church, where Susannah, pausing only to hand over her surrogate baby to an interested bystander, lands a creditable right hook on her cheating husband, shouting, "I could murder you! Absolutely murder you!" At this slice of married life, a newly married bride and groom, emerging all smiles, glance nervously at each other.

Susannah and Max, by the way, are booked to do the catering for the wedding. In the circumstances, one would not vouch for the quality of the sausage rolls.

Meanwhile, over the Pennines, Mandy Dingle is marrying her cousin Butch Dingle.

The Dingles of Emmerdale, like the Grundys of Ambridge, are disturbing evidence of inbreeding. All are partial to woolly hats. Some have little bushy tails.

Mandy is marrying Butch to save the old homestead. The old homestead looms large in the lives of these mud-encrusted characters. As Aunt Ada Doom used to say, flailing at her family with the Poultry Keeper's Guide, "There'll always be Starkadders at Cold Comfort Farm!" Though she never said why.

Listen carefully. I shall explain this only once. The Dingles need £6,000 to buy back the old homestead. It is not, as you have already spotted, a very desirable residence. More the sort of place to appeal to a do-it-yourself enthusiast.

Mandy, a big girl, dimpled all over like a buttoned sofa, really loves Paddy, a perfectly circular vet. To the naked eye they seem well matched, but Paddy's mother peered into the Dingle gene pool and recoiled. She offered £6,000 if Mandy married someone else, absolutely anyone else. As Paddy, who is brighter than he looks, said "Come off it, Mandy! This is ridiculous!" but Mandy explained the overriding exigency of a soap storyline.

All of which led to exclamations rarely exclaimed outside East Lynne — "I'm doing it to save the family home!" "I can't live without you! Elope with me!" "What have I done?" — and passionate sobbing behind closed doors.

In view of the obvious hazards of marriage, I wonder if I can interest you in the Communicating Door, as pioneered by Alec and Rita in Coronation Street. This is a sort of cat flap between old friends. Discreet yet convenient. Fitted in minutes by any competent handyman. No wedding necessary.



Dream or nightmare? Will Peter, Brookside's nice but dull crimp, ever marry Lindsey?

Killing time again

Wave riding *Anne Karpf*

I have been steeped in old death, with radio stations exhorting a generation still struggling to understand the second world war to remember the first. It's a hard task, this remembering of historical events whose narrative you've never really grasped, and producers have tried every imaginable strategy to try to make vivid and meaningful what inevitably has become faded and remote. But if I hear it's A Long Way To Tipperary one more time, I can't be held accountable.

Radio Clyde re-broadcasts Under The Arch Of The Gums, a montage made by Alex Dickson 20 years ago, and this time Talk Radio took it, too. Splicing together authentic trench verse and music, it proved that this kind of crafted but accessible feature isn't the exclusive property of the BBC. Yet one couldn't help feel a teensy bit cheated that Clyde chose to reuse an old programme rather than devise something new to reflect today's take on the past.

The Girls They Left Behind, part of a week of specially-commissioned Remembrance programmes on Radio 4, faced this squarely by following a group of Edinburgh schoolchildren round the battlefields of Europe. It began with a boy relishing the prospect of a visit to a military cemetery, the girls singing We'll Meet Again, and their teacher urging them all to look out of the window and observe how French the cars looked. But soon, as the children's imaginative identification with the dead soldiers and their bereaved girls grew, this turned into a touching programme and, for a few of the teenagers, no abstract exercise: they came to search for relatives' graves and, in some cases, found them.

On Radio 2 Tony Robinson also guided us round key sites in Europe, following the path taken by the coffin of The Unknown Soldier (representing all the war dead) on

its way to burial in Westminster Abbey in November 1920. This was a sombre Robinson, with mercifully few opportunities for joke-making, but while the programme was informative, the events it described somehow stubbornly refused (for me) to breach the eight decades since their occurrence.

Tina Pepler's The Silence Of Memory (Radio 4) took the same ceremonial occasion, the funeral of the Unknown Soldier, and intercut it with three stories, of a father who'd lost his son, a child who'd lost his brother, and a surviving soldier. What Pepler did beautifully was show how the death of loved person puts you instantly into a problematic, adversarial relationship with time, because its passage makes the dead even more dead. Though the dead are out of time, their lives were, and the bereaved still are, inescapably in it. Pepler's sculpted lines contrasted uncontainable private grief with public ritual. Some bits didn't work. After Spoonface Steinberg, a naive-wise child pondering loss sounds insuperably derivative, and makes me feel so manipulated that I refuse to produce the mandatory grief. Nor could I warm to the device of getting the dead to speak to the living and finally free them (it sounding too much like a handbook for bereavement counsellors).

But there were passages of great clarity and insight here, all the more remarkable for having been written by one of radio's former leading fabulists, whose characters cheerfully levitated and whose magic-realist plays won prizes and maddened me in direct ratio. Now this. Pigs truly can fly.

Finally, Peter Wolf's Strange Meeting (Radio 4), inspired by Wilfred Owen's poem of the same name, dramatised not just the pity of war, but also its absurdity, via Owen's identification with the enemy, debates with Siegfried Sassoon, and his death in combat. The jokes with Owen's work were undetectable. Norbert Zehms music and Cherry Cookson's direction were enveloping, and the piece had what are already turning into Wolf's trademarks — a scorching intensity, a lacerating and uncompromising vision of hell. No feelgood dramatist, he coerces listeners to engage and lassos our imagination.

The ENO's new Boris Godunov is a poor show, but the individual performers are outstanding, writes **Andrew Clements**

Boris minor

English National Opera's Boris Godunov, directed by Francesca Zambello, is the second new production in Britain in six months — David Pountney's memorable version for Welsh National Opera opened in May. Both are based on the earlier of the two versions of Mussorgsky's epic, the seven scenes that were premiered in 1869. But where the ENO's Boris presented that text more or less straight, the Coliseum show adds an extra scene from the later score, so that the opera ends not with Boris's death, but with the Russian people in Kromy Forest, preparing to march on Moscow in support of the False Dmitri.

Zambello presents this pageant, these snapshots of Russian history, as a timeless frieze. Hildegard Bechler's delicately distressed set, with one of her signature RSIs straddling the stage, provides a neutral frame, while the mingled costumes (by Nicki Gillibrand) signal that the present day has been grafted with the epoch of Boris's tyranny. The country's troubles are endless and endemic, it all suggests, yet the production is not at all politicised; there's no particular sympathy for either the people or their oppressors, and this refusal to take sides makes the dramatic treatment of the larger issues seem anodyne.

Grand gestures are out, and Zambello's usually deft handling of a big chorus falls here: the coronation is awkward and provisional, with the new tsar wheeled around on a strange three-wheeled rickshaw, echoing the walking frame that imprisons the Simpleton, Russia's conscience, through most of the opera. On an individual level, though, the performances



Manic... John Tomlinson

are scrupulously detailed, and if the show disappoints as a visceral spectacle, its rewards are found in the playing of the ENO Orchestra under Paul Daniel — a potent, dramatically taut reading, even if the electronic bells are a mistake — and especially the contributions of a consistently high-class cast, in which only Robert Tear's pallid Shuisky disappoints.

In the title role John Tomlinson cuts the manically energetic figure you'd expect, compulsively watchable, though he declaims more than he sings and tends to chop up phrases haphazardly. John Connolly's superb Pimen is his counterweight, sung with great beauty of tone, nobility and absolute verbal clarity (in David Lloyd Jones's translation). His two scenes — with the fiercely ambitious Grigory, aka the False Dmitri (a full-blooded performance by the excellent John Daszak), and with the hyperactive Boris — are the most compelling moments in the entire evening. The chorus gained steadily in authority as the evening gathered momentum: the whole show, too, should acquire more dramatic depth and involvement.

Performances continue till December 11. Box office: 0171-632 8300.

The London Jazz Festival leaves **John Fordham** much relieved Oof. Brubeck can still cut it

When Dave Brubeck stepped up to the microphone at the Royal Festival Hall 40 years ago, food rationing had only recently ended, rock'n'roll had barely replaced crooners, swing and songs about homecoming soldiers, and British jazz was dominated by skiffle bands and Dixieland revivalism.

Brubeck himself was a controversial figure. Jazz hardliners hated his eclecticism, enthusiasm for European classical and world-music devices, his championing of straight composers, and his preference for the spotlight of the concert hall to the bare bulb of the jazz basement. Yet, seeing him this week, one could not imagine an

international jazz festival that lacked these features.

Brubeck was in town for the Oris London Jazz Festival, which takes in 20 venues this year and leads up to an all-day at the South Bank tomorrow. Playing the Festival Hall with a quartet that included the British bassist Alec Dankworth, he was one of the bits of the week, along with South African drummer Louis Moholo, who earlier put together a manic percussion band to support trumpeter Lester Bowie and the remarkable singer Francine Luze.

Brubeck's impact was quite a surprise. Not because the 77-year-old composer and pianist hasn't made his mark, but because so What's New?, the disc of new tunes

he was promoting, is a little short of thrilling. But the quartet displayed an eagerness that was initially stoked by the fleet and fluent alto saxophonist Bobby Militello, who stormed through an engaging mélange of flying Charlie Parkerish double-time, whistling high notes, soul-sax wails and bluesy slurs.

After hesitant beginnings and a rather monochrome solo or two, the leader expanded his solos into the eddies and flurries of percussive chords and subtly shifting harmonies that are his signature, and among a raft of old and new themes, a headlong Take The A Train almost stole the show.

The London Jazz Festival ends tomorrow.

How do you watch hundreds of channels?



One at a time



The arrival of digital satellite has transformed everyone's expectations of home entertainment. Along with all the Sky digital services, there are channels from many of the world's leading broadcasters on ASTRA. Broadcasters such as the BBC, Discovery, Fextech, UKTV and Viacom. At the touch of a button, you can access a huge variety of entertaining and informative services. Yet whatever the time or day, the on-screen SkyGuide can help you easily find a programme that you really want to watch. Whether it's the latest news headlines, your favourite sitcom or a documentary, the choice is yours.

With so much on offer, it's good to be in control.

For your free information pack call free 0800 731 5873, quoting GUS.

ASTRA is a trademark of Société Européenne des Satellites.
ASTRA Marketing Ltd., The Progression Centre, 42 Mark Road, Hemel Hempstead, Herts., HP2 7DW.
Telephone: 01442 235540 Fax: 01442 235517
ASTRA Website: <http://www.astra.lu>



سكنا من الامم

Racing

Chris Hawkins considers Hobbs's runner the pick of the weights in today's valuable handicap chase at Cheltenham

Dr Leunt to be the toast in Murphy's

DR LEUNT looks the pick of the weights and the value bet in today's Murphy's Gold Cup Handicap Chase at Cheltenham. A race dominated ante-post by Cyfor Malta from the powerful Martin Pipe stable.

Cyfor Malta is held in high esteem by his trainer and, though easy to back in the last couple of days, looks sure to go off favourite after coming last season in a blaze of glory, winning the Cathcart Chase here and the John Hughes Chase over the National fences at Aintree.

He is now rated 150 which is 10lb higher than when he scored so easily at Aintree. If he is a future Gold Cup winner, as Pipe seems to believe, he can win off this mark so why oppose him?

For a 14-runner handicap with 15 fences to negotiate, secondly he is a five-year-old whose age-group has never supplied the winner of this race, and thirdly he is by no means certain to beat Dr Leunt on their running together last season.

They met twice and Cyfor Malta won twice but Dr Leunt, beaten three and a half lengths in the Cathcart and two lengths at Sandown in February, now enjoys a healthy pull of 18lb. He has been pleasing Philip Hobbs, his trainer, in recent work and was sharpened up with a run at Stratford last month.

There are the last two Murphy's winners in today's field — Challenger du Luc (1996) and Senior El Beiruti (1997) — but the latter in particular has a lot more to do.

Senior El Beiruti has 2st more in the saddle than when beating Challenger du Luc by three lengths in last year's race and is 10lb worse off with the runner-up.

Papillon must be on every-



So far so good... McGregor The Third (third left) clears a hedge in the cross-country chase at Cheltenham before losing his way

JULIAN HERBERT

one's shortlist. He comes over from Ireland with solid form, having finished second in the Irish National last season. On his reappearance he ran a highly satisfactory second over an inadequate trip at Navan.

He will be hard to keep out of the frame, but Dr Leunt (2.55), who will not mind any overnight rain, is the selection.

Nicky Henderson's horses

are in great form at the moment and he could land the first two races with Katarino (1.10), a very easy winner at Newbury on Tuesday, and Stormyfairweather (1.45), who makes his debut over fences but has always looked a chaser in the making.

Henderson's Gremlin Dart fell at the second last when challenging Bluebonix (2.30) at Ascot last time and may have been unlucky.

The pair meet again but I just prefer the David Nicholson hurdler who looks as tough as old boots.

Kendal Cavalier (3.30) stays all day and has a penchant for Cheltenham. With only 10st in the Flowers Original Handicap Chase, he must go close.

Jenny Pitman has had difficulty in concealing her excitement about Jet Tabs (4.05), for whom she has engaged

Richard Dunwoody to maximize chances in the concluding Boddingtons Handicap Hurdle.

At Cheltenham yesterday the Sporting Index Cross Country Chase went to Linden's Loto, but the story of the race was the extraordinary error of Tony Dobbin on the winner's former stable companion McGregor The Third who took the wrong course when in the lead with

two to jump. The Cheltenham stewards banned Dobbin for seven days (November 23-30) and the Jockey had no complaints.

"It was my first ride in this race but I had walked the course two or three times," he said. "I have no excuses, but I would say that having no cones in the gap on the course was no help to me. I feel sick about it and I don't want it to happen again."

Cheltenham Jackpot meeting

CHRIS HAWKINS	TOP FORM
1.10 Katarino (ph)	Simply Silenced
2.20 Stormyfairweather	Shaggy
2.55 Dr Leunt (ph)	Shaggy Du Luc (ph)
3.30 Kendal Cavalier	Shaggy Du Luc (ph)
4.05 Jet Tabs	Shaggy Du Luc (ph)

1.10 MURPHY'S THREE YEAR OLD NOVICE HURDLE	2m 11yds £2,068 (10 decider)
1251 Challenger du Luc (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1252 Senior El Beiruti (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1253 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1254 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1255 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1256 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1257 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1258 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1259 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1260 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.

1.45 MURPHY'S SIX YEAR OLD NOVICE HURDLE	2m 4yds £2,394 (5 decider)
251 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
252 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
253 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
254 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
255 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
256 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
257 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
258 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
259 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
260 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.

2.20 MACKENSON NOVICE HURDLE	2m 11yds £3,002 (12 decider)
1251 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1252 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1253 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1254 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1255 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1256 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1257 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1258 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1259 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1260 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.

2.55 MURPHY'S GOLD CUP HANDICAP CHASE	2m 4yds £2,720 (14 decider)
1251 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1252 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1253 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1254 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1255 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1256 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1257 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1258 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1259 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1260 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.

3.30 FLOWERS ORIGINAL HANDICAP CHASE	3m 3f 11yds £2,597 (7 decider)
1251 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1252 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1253 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1254 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1255 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1256 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1257 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1258 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1259 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1260 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.

4.05 BODDINGTONS HANDICAP HURDLE	2m 4yds £2,500 (14 decider)
1251 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1252 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1253 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1254 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1255 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1256 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1257 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1258 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1259 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1260 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.

4.40 CONSOLE TRAVEL HANDICAP HURDLE	2m 5f 11yds £2,740 (9 decider)
1251 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1252 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1253 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1254 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1255 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1256 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1257 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1258 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1259 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1260 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.

5.05 PARK SOCIAL/THAMES GUARDIAN NOVICE HURDLE	2m 11yds £3,019 (13 decider)
1251 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1252 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1253 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1254 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1255 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1256 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1257 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1258 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1259 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1260 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.

5.30 CLUNTON JUVENILE HURDLE 3YO	2m 11yds £2,276 (5 decider)
1251 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1252 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1253 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1254 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1255 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1256 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1257 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1258 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1259 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1260 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.

Ayr with TV form guide

CHRIS HAWKINS	TOP FORM
1.15 Course Doctor	Course Doctor
2.15 Stormyfairweather	Stormyfairweather
2.45 Stormyfairweather	Stormyfairweather
3.15 Stormyfairweather	Stormyfairweather
4.15 Stormyfairweather	Stormyfairweather

1.15 GLENFOLK HIGHLAND MALT WHISKY NOVICE CHASE	2m 4yds £3,600 (5 decider)
1251 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1252 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1253 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1254 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1255 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1256 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1257 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1258 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1259 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1260 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.

1.45 SEAN GRAHAM BOOKMAKERS HANDICAP CHASE	2m 11yds £3,785 (5 decider)
1251 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1252 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1253 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1254 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1255 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1256 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1257 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1258 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1259 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1260 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.

2.15 SEAN GRAHAM BOOKMAKERS JUVENILE NOVICE HURDLE	2m 4yds £2,440 (12 decider)
1251 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1252 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1253 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1254 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1255 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1256 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1257 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1258 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1259 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1260 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.

2.45 SEAN GRAHAM BOOKMAKERS HANDICAP HURDLE	2m 4yds £3,470 (5 decider)
1251 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1252 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1253 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1254 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1255 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1256 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1257 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1258 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1259 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1260 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.

3.15 SEAN GRAHAM HANDICAP CHASE	2m 4yds £3,704 (5 decider)
1251 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1252 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1253 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1254 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1255 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1256 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1257 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1258 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1259 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1260 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.

3.45 SEAN GRAHAM BOOKMAKERS HANDICAP HURDLE	2m 4yds £3,470 (5 decider)
1251 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1252 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1253 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1254 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1255 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1256 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1257 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1258 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1259 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1260 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.

4.15 SEAN GRAHAM HANDICAP CHASE	2m 4yds £3,704 (5 decider)
1251 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1252 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1253 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1254 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1255 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1256 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1257 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1258 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1259 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1260 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.

4.45 SEAN GRAHAM HANDICAP CHASE	2m 4yds £3,704 (5 decider)
1251 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1252 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1253 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1254 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1255 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1256 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1257 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1258 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1259 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1260 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.

5.15 SEAN GRAHAM HANDICAP CHASE	2m 4yds £3,704 (5 decider)
1251 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1252 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1253 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1254 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1255 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1256 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1257 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1258 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1259 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1260 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.

Windsor runners and riders

RON COOK	TOP FORM
12.30 Windsor	Windsor
1.00 Windsor	Windsor
2.00 Windsor	Windsor
3.00 Windsor	Windsor
4.00 Windsor	Windsor

12.30 3M INNOVATION NOVICE HURDLE (DIV 1)	2m 2yds £3,335 (15 decider)
1251 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1252 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1253 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1254 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1255 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1256 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1257 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1258 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1259 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1260 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.

1.00 MENCHAP BLUE SKY JUVENILE NOVICE HURDLE 3YO	2m 2yds £2,460 (15 decider)
1251 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1252 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1253 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1254 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1255 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1256 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1257 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1258 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1259 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1260 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.

1.35 3M INNOVATION NOVICE HURDLE (DIV 2)	2m 2yds £3,335 (14 decider)
1251 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1252 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1253 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1254 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1255 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1256 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1257 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1258 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.
1259 Stormyfairweather (ph) 11-5	A. B. B. B. B.

Wales v South Africa

Ian Malin looks at the Springboks Grand Slam series which begins today at Wembley with the visitors expected to run amok

On top of that, they've got a wonderful coach in Nick Mallett, someone who excels at his job and who commands

Realistically, though, a score similar to the 42-7 defeat here by the All Blacks a year ago will be the best Henry can realistically hope for.

Paul Rees finds the Wales centre keen to tackle familiar foes and settle a score

"I did not deserve the Man

Lift-off ... Scott Gibbs sends South Africa's Andre Snyman crashing during the Lions win in the first Test at Newlands last year

the New Zealander Graham Henry, would play what they call a second-five Down Under, an inside centre with an all-round tactical game, usually a converted outside-half.

Henry was adapted, winning in South Africa with the Lions was the highlight of my union career," Gibbs said, "but I want to taste sustained success with Wales. If we won on Saturday there would be mass hysteria at home.

"No one will give us a chance but then the Lions were written off when we arrived in Johannesburg. You have to believe, you have to have desire, you

have to burn with pride for your country. I am not interested in respectability against South Africa. Sport is not about the taking part, it is about winning."

Goodway looks for consolation

Andy Wilson says the heat is on Great Britain's coach before the third and final Test



Goodman, restaurant I

especially me," he said. "The weight of expectation lies on my shoulders — that's why I'm the boss — and I think I can make a contribution. But I don't think people should be surprised about what's happened."

Goodway is not going to go. He is not the resigning type, while Tunncliffe's vote of confidence is, unusually. ex-

How British rugby league in general, and Goodway in particular, could do with the tonic of a consolation victory at Watford tonight.

and the Swedes Sophie Gustafson and Catrin Nilsmark beat the men's captain Tommy Horton and Neil Coles on the final green.

Edgy Henman beats nerves to book ticket to Hanover

Stephen Bierley in Stockholm

Best of day for Westwood

Paris form. Throughout the match Nestor had shown himself liable to a truly lamentable shot, and a rotten backhand volley saw Rusedski claim the vital break for 4-2 and, effectively, the match.

Golf

Best of day for Westwood

The American Mark O'Meara, winner of this year's Masters and British Opens, hit a 72 to stand in 41st place on 145.

De Lorenzi proves point

**Elspeth Burnside
in Praia d'El Rey**

De Lorenzi could not celebrate a personal victory. Along with last year's US Open Champion, Alison Nicholas, she went down three-and-two to Bobby Verwey and Denis O'Sullivan, the former

new and Mhairi McKay then inflicted a two-and-one on David Jones and Jim Rhodes and the Swedes Sophie Gustafson and Catrin Nilsmark beat the men's captain Tommy Horton and Neil Coles on the final green.

Let's Point
then explain

Subit accusatus

هكذا من الاما

10/01/01

WeekendSport

Saturday November 14 1998 www.football.guardian.co.uk

Old manager strolls in with sharpened Spurs

No trip down Memory Lane for Graham

Roy Collins on a former Gunner returning to his stamping ground

GEORGE GRAHAM insists that he is not a nostalgia which imprisons the rest of us against our will when our senses are invaded by the sight, sounds, and smells of Alma Mater, old work places and former stamping grounds.

So when the coach carrying the Tottenham team turns to negotiate the final few yards to Arsenal's main entrance today, Graham will not mistake Avenell Road for Memory Lane. He says: "I'm a great believer in living in the present. The past is lovely, wonderful, and it's tucked away in my head. But I will not have any emotional pangs returning to Arsenal."

This is not to say that he will ignore old friends. He will exchange a word or two with the commissionaire on the front steps, be happy to bump into former players like Tony Adams and Steve Bould in the corridors of Highbury, and expects to share a cup of tea with the staff of the box office. "There are a lot of nice people at Arsenal," he says. "A lot."

The inference from Graham is that there are a lot of less than nice people, most of them

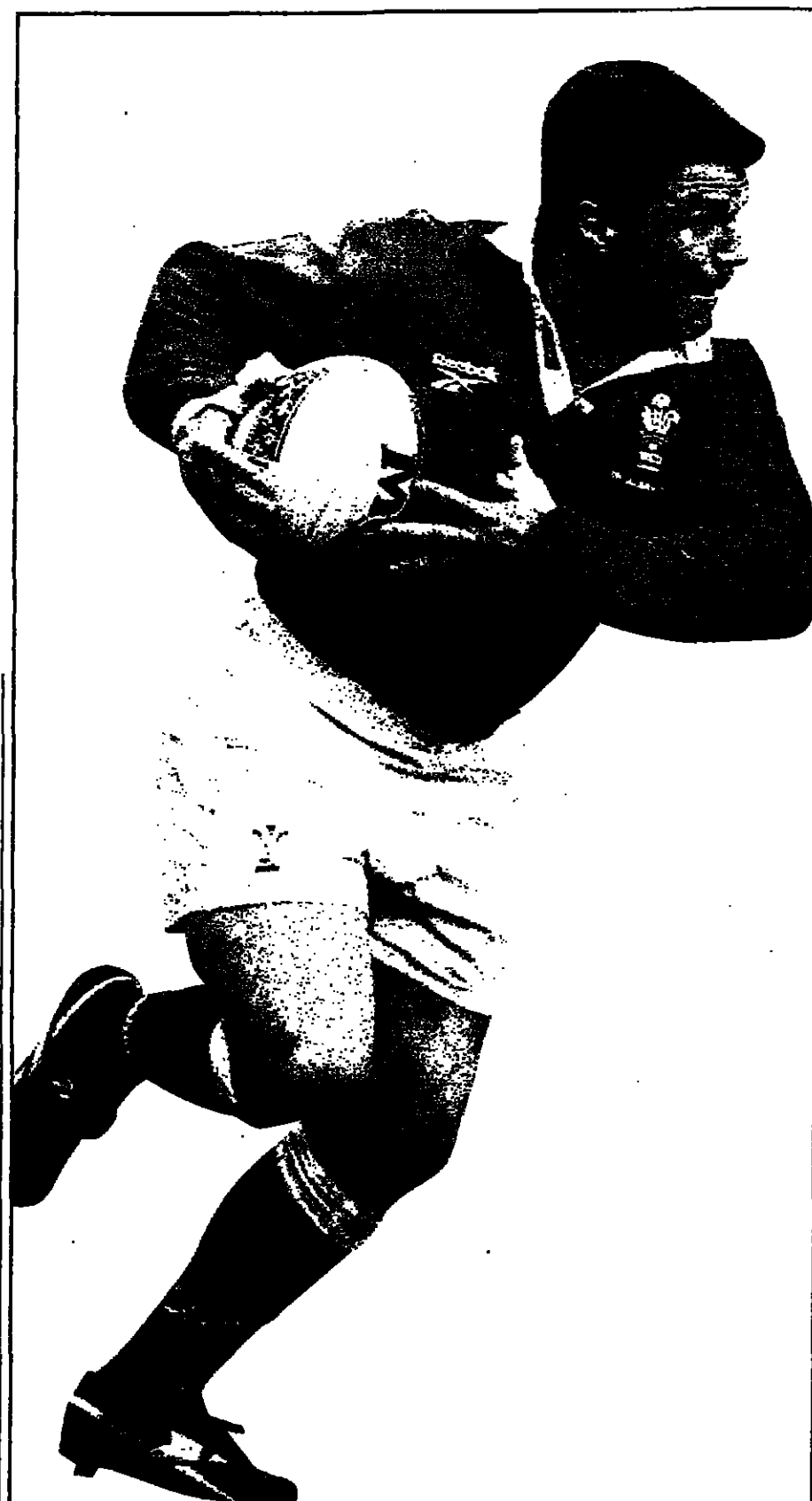
inhabiting the boardroom. He still believes that he was prematurely removed from the manager's office after receiving a bung and the olive branch offered by the chairman Peter Hill-Wood, unlike the cash, will remain untouched.

Hill-Wood, who has invited Graham to bury the hatchet over a stiff drink in the boardroom, says: "I would like to see George come in with his head held high and proud and his hand outstretched." Given the nature of Graham's departure, that final image is unfortunately ambiguous, although there is nothing so ironic as the fact that a man convicted of taking a bung now has a public image as the setter and upholder of standards.

Graham is portrayed as the man who has put the Harry Hotspur back into Tottenham, fighting for decency by issuing a new rule book which bans earrings and gambling at cards and restores blazers, shirts and tie as *de rigueur* clothing on match days. Old-fashioned values from a man who succumbed to one of the original vices — greed. But in football, the lines between villainy and heroism are often either impenetrable or blurry. His old pal Terry Venables, who still has couriers praising the emperor's fine ermine, despite two High Court judges dismissing him as a liar, is a case in point.

Graham is far sharper in the arts of both football management and public relations. Max Clifford could teach him nothing about PR and if Graham announced he was taking lessons in spin, one would assume he was apprenticed not to Alexander Campbell but to Shane Warne. He even attempts to persuade one that today's match is less important than the Worthington Cup-tie at Liverpool this week. He says: "There are only three Premiership points at stake against Arsenal, whereas at Liverpool, we won a game that put us into the quarter-finals of a cup competition."

Graham has carefully cultivated his image as a disciplinarian, which will have put his Tottenham charges instantly on the back foot. Tony Adams, in his autobiography, *Admitted*, says: "People who had known George said he changed the moment he got the Arsenal job. He changed all his drinking pals and set out to get rid of the prima donnas one by one."



Mixed feelings... George Graham will experience them today as Tottenham manager

"There was a mixture of feelings about George but the dominant one was fear because of the power you knew he had. His body language, what with that Scottish mask of his, was definitely 'I'm the boss, be careful'. We poked fun as far as we could at his stiffness but there was also an admiration for what he was doing for us."

Adams, Steve Bould, Martin Keown and the full-backs Lee Dixon and Nigel Winterburn are the back five which Graham left as a gratefully received legacy by first Bruce Rioch and now Arsène Wenger. Although Graham suggested earlier this week that this unit may soon be as outdated as the other Famous Five, he believes they can still help Arsenal to a final dolly of success this season.

He says: "At other clubs, those players might be finished. But Arsenal have got

that winning mentality. They have not played particularly well this season but they are second in the Premiership and the mental strength of their players is what drives them on."

"I always looked for players with that mental strength."

As he begins his plans to rebuild Tottenham with men of quality on and off the park, he knows he will no longer be able to pluck them from obscurity with loose change. Wenger, he points out, is able to smuggle unknowns like Patrick Vieira and Emmanuel Petit to Highbury because of an intimate knowledge of French football which put him at an advantage over everyone else.

Graham will politely reject that invitation to the boardroom after today's match, though he will, as is his weekly custom, spend the first half in

the directors' box, just feet from the man who sacked him.

By the second half, however, he will be installed in that funny little greenhouse which passes as the dug-out at Arsenal, looking out through glass which was perennially rose-tinted when he was manager. Whatever contradictory message may be sent by his unchanging facial expression, nostalgia might just catch his emotions unaware.

George Graham will not enjoy his reception at Highbury today, according to the former Arsenal forward Paul Marston. "George will get stuck," he said. "The depth of feeling between the fans is unbelievable. It will hurt him. He has this image of being hard and cold but it will hurt because of the years he spent there."

The match, a sell-out, will also be shown on giant screens at White Hart Lane.

Football

Time is against England's answer to the Eiffel Tower

David Lacey

SO LET'S hear it for Brent council, for whom the twin towers of Wembley stadium are as sacrosanct as the pyramids and will probably be just as hard to move.

No sooner had the forces of Philistia been mobilised to tear down these symbols of English footballing might than the chairman of Brent's environmental committee was insisting that they would have to be embodied in whatever shape the new stadium happened to take.

Should demolition men wielding steel balls attempt to march up Olympic Way next summer, they will presumably find their path blocked by serried ranks of prone Brent councillors.

Seventy-odd years ago, when it was Empire Way, there might have been similarly strong objections to such a demolition, but that was then.

The hundreds of thousands of football fans whose eyes have lit up at their first sight of Wembley will be grateful that despite the reservations about cost expressed by the Sports Minister, Tony Banks, and attempts to minimise the issue by the chief executive of the Football Association, Graham

"Towers, what towers?" Kelly, the game's most famous skyline appears safe for the foreseeable future. But might the traditionalists not think again if these twin peaks can only be preserved at the risk of screwing up England's bid to stage the next World Cup but one?

The emotional arguments in favour of keeping them bear echoes of Phil Harris — "Workman, spare that tower, touch not a single stone" — but, if accepted, could leave England's 2006 World Cup campaign looking like one of the less successful scams of Phil Sivers.

A rebuilt Wembley is the

cornerstone of England's bid and already the operation is behind schedule. Work on the new stadium is due to begin next summer and be completed in time for the 2002 FA Cup final, but it now looks as if the new Wembley might not even be ready for the World Athletics Championships the following year.

With the projected cost, originally £240 million, threatening to soar beyond £400 million, it is not the best moment to be starting a fresh wrangle about either the design of the stadium or precisely where it will be built.

Time is already running out. Fifa will choose a country to host the 2006 World Cup less than two years from now and England's chances of winning the nomination will not be helped if the centrepiece of its argument is nothing more than a building site marked Watch This Space.

Even if Wembley, towers or no towers, is reborn according to schedule, there is no guaranteeing that the surrounding infrastructure will be in place. Fifa might be reluctant to give a World Cup to a country whose capital has a metro system less efficient than that provided by Buenos Aires for the tournament of 1978 and where those travelling by road are at the mercy of the Hanger Lane gyratory system and the Nissen underpass.

The encouraging noises recently made by Sepp Blatter, the Fifa president, to Tony Blair about England's World Cup chances did not mean much. If South Africa is not up to staging a 32-nation tournament in eight years the smart money would still be on the Germans as the first alternative.

Yes, England are overdue another World Cup and Brazil, who have not had one since 1950, even more so. With Fifa, however, fair play does not always come into the argument any more than handshakes with prime ministers.

When Colombia, the original hosts for the 1986 finals, found themselves unable to accommodate a 24-nation event, the World Cup went

back to Mexico, the hosts in 1970, with a strong American bid virtually ignored despite being led by a political heavyweight, Henry Kissinger.

English football has much going for it and the ultimate frustration would be to see the chance of capitalising on the successful hosting of Euro 96 thwarted by environmental and financial problems at Wembley.

Should it come to a choice between preserving the towers and jeopardising England's campaign then even Brent council might have to declare a no-contest. In any case, what do the towers really stand for? Images of 1965 and all that might bring lumps to the throats of those old enough to remember them, but surely all the towers really represent is the fact that in nearly 50 years of international competition England have only won one major tournament and did so without leaving Wembley.

Compared to the Brazilians, Italians, Germans, Argentines and, once upon a time, the Uruguayans, English football has no tradition of international success to speak of, which is why the nation goes ga-ga when the team reaches a semi-final.

Take away 1966 and Wembley would be best remembered as the scene of English humiliation: by the Scots in 1926 (5-1) and the Hungarians in 1953 (6-3).

The original Wembley tower set out to be an English equivalent of the Eiffel Tower but the builders never got beyond the first stage, at which point the foundations began to move. Eventually demolition was achieved with the help of dynamite which left the ill-fated piece of ironmongery with its legs in the air.

Twenty-five years of covering England matches have left similar impressions from time to time. It is reported that, were the towers to remain in their present position, they would end up in the middle of the pitch in the new stadium.

What better way to remember Jeff Blockley and Larry Lloyd?

Derby daze

Graham's most memorable north London encounters



Tottenham 1 Arsenal 2 League Cup semi-final replay March 4, 1987
George Graham's youngsters were losing 1-0 with eight minutes to go but shattered a star-studded Spurs side with goals from Ian Allister and David Rocastle.

Tottenham 3 Arsenal 1 FA Cup semi-final April 14, 1989
The first Wembley FA Cup semi-final was graced by Paul Gascoigne's 35-yard free-kick in the opening minutes. Two more lions dazed Lincolns ended it.

Arsenal 1 Tottenham 0 FA Cup semi-final April 4, 1988
The sides returned to Wembley for another semi-final two years later, Arsenal snatching revenge on their way to the FA and League Cup double.

At last, Chelsea will go with the Flo

Paul Weaver on the patient Norwegian set to take centre stage after more than a year warming the Stamford Bridge bench

ANYONE looking for an insight into the character of Chelsea's Norwegian forward Tore Andre Flo should hark back to his arrival at Stamford Bridge from Brann Bergen at the start of last season.

He was ready to join Everton for £2.6 million, until the club sacked Joe Royle. In the wake of the Bosman ruling, he then agreed to sign for Chelsea on a free transfer. Brann, who earlier had turned down a £1.6 million bid from Southampton, stood to lose out, so Flo offered the club £200,000 from his own pocket.

"I did not want Brann to come away empty-handed," he says. Chelsea eventually agreed a compensation figure of £300,000. It is an improb-

able tale that helps to explain why Flo has bided his time on the bench with a quite magnificent Scandinavian tolerance.

In the current issue of Chelsea, the club's official magazine, there is an attack on the press under the fetching headline "Rotate On This!" Some unscrupulous reporters are accused of looking for traces of discontent among Gianluca Vialli's All Stars because of the manager's policy of rotating his exotic circus.

Such reporters have given up phoning Flo. "I Want Away — Flo" headlines are as thin on the ground as spilled sovereigns.

"It's right, I hate to lose my temper," he says. "I have never been booked, which is

becoming a bit embarrassing. I'm not the type of player who goes screaming to referees, even when I've been fouled, which can be quite often. And I'm not going to go running to the papers because I want to get in the team. Of course I want to play. In every match. But there are so many good players here, so I have had to wait my turn."

The patience of Flo — it sounds like a morality tale. And now his forbearance is set to be rewarded. The sale of Brian Laudrup to Copenhagen and the serious knee injury to Pierluigi Casiraghi could persuade Vialli to go with the Flo on a more regular basis, starting today against Wimbledon. Mocked by the Stamford Bridge crowd, described by his chairman Ken Bates as more important than Alan Shearer and by manager Vialli as the long-term future of the club, Flo could be about to start a Premiership game for the

first time this season. "I have now been here for 15 months but I always felt that my time would come. And now, maybe, it has," he said after training yesterday.

"But I'm still not sure. When Mark Hughes left people said it would be my time. But then Pierluigi came into the side. I've had to keep my mind very positive about things and work very hard."

Few can complain about Flo's return when he does make it on to the team sheet. In his four starts this season, he has scored three goals. His 23 appearances last season yielded 15 goals. "My highlight last season was to be that last-trick at Spurs. This season it would be coming on against Blackburn with 12 minutes to go and scoring twice. I feel I'm very much stronger this season, physically and mentally."

The eff 4in Flo denies the team need to reshape their

Set by Fawley

Round the perimeter: Clockwise from 1 — A 9 of OTI-press that goes to one's head (3,5,7); Anticlockwise from 7 — English nation, given 8, may wear it (3,5,5)

Across

7 How to describe native of Borneo briefly, once you returned? (7)
8 Indian vegetable, originally bought pickled in jar, then left? (7)
10 Company's emblem very loud? Stop using computer! (3,3)

11 One imagines its citizens could be loaded, hoarding gold (8)
12 Pre-cooked food's served here in town — Indian, say? (4)
13 Claim a rank misrepresentation of evolutionary theory (10)
14 Urgently requesting a 9 of 9 (11)
15 Saucy maids offering love in advance? I'll be back! (10)
22 Shipbuilder once joked about report of archetype (4)
23 Ring is to appear — it orbits major planet (8)
24 Fear becoming unbearable? (8)

© Published by Guardian Newspapers Limited at 110 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3PP, and at 184 Deerpark, Manchester M20 2PR. Printed at Westbury Press Ltd, 225 West Ferry Road, London E14 6NU, and at Trafford Park Presses, Longbridge Road, Manchester M17 1SL. Tel: 0161 275 1111. Fax: 0161 275 1112. E-mail: news@guardian.co.uk. Registered at the General Post Office as a newspaper. Post Office registration number: 15221. ISSN: 0950-9230. Website: www.guardian.co.uk. Telephone: 0161-234 7200. Fax: 0161-234 7201. Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office ISSN: 0950-9230.

Guardian Crossword 21,432

A copy of the new Millennium edition of the Collins English Dictionary will be sent to the first five correct entries drawn. Entries to The Guardian Crossword, PO Box 6608, Birmingham, B26 3PR, or Fax to 0171 713 4795 by first post on Friday Solution and winners in the Guardian on Monday November 23.

Name

Address

25 He's buttonholed Blair, with problems ready to be let out (7)
26 Become unproductive, having to put up with striking (4,3)
Down
1 Determined thespian given audition in private (7)
2 Once upon, silent about one offering formal praise (8)
3 Angler's ambition maximized goals achieved (6)
4 Something cooling in the field of American football (8)
5 Clothing essential for a cavalier or a knight (6)
6 Left hand of the law, and a symbolic kiss for old Levy (4-3)
9 To a punter, I'm self-explanatory (11)
15 Exaggerate merits of lines ending love poem (8)
16 Beat on entrance, and I will serve Indian cuisine (8)
17 Friend of Hamlet has his first speech out (7)
18 Spanish boss, quick to discard king for ace, possibly (7)
20 Ball out, surrounded by nasty smell in Spanish port (6)
21 Ignore changes suggested about recording seven-strong group (8)

CROSSWORD SOLUTION 21,431

Across
1. BURNING
2. SILENT
3. FISHING
4. COOLING
5. CLOTHING
6. LEFT
9. TO A
15. EXAGGERATE
16. BEAT
17. FRIEND
18. SPANISH
20. BALL
21. IGNORE

Down
1. DETERMINED
2. ONCE
3. ANGLER
4. SOMETHING
5. CLOTHING
6. LEFT
9. TO A
15. EXAGGERATE
16. BEAT
17. FRIEND
18. SPANISH
20. BALL
21. IGNORE